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BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY MANCHESTER

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No. 4

LIBRARY NOTES AND NEWS.

AT the January meeting of the Council of Governors the seventeenth annual report was presented, in which THE YEAR the work of the library during the past year 1916.

was reviewed, and it will not be out of place, in these pages, briefly to summarize such portions of its contents as are likely to be of interest to our readers.

As we looked forward, at the commencement of the year, it was not unnatural to anticipate a decline in the library's activities, and it is gratifying, therefore, to be able to report that those fears have in no sense been realized. From whatever point of view the work of the library is viewed, in spite of the absorbing and overwhelming fact of the great war, there are such unmistakable evidences of progress, that the governors have cause to congratulate themselves upon the success which has attended their efforts, not merely to "carry on" the regular activities, but, wherever possible, to open out new avenues of service.

It is true that the war has withdrawn still more of our male readers for national service, yet the number of readers using the library has actually shown an increase, and a great deal of important research work is being conducted not only by students from our own university, but by others from a distance.

The resources of the library have been developed along lines which hitherto have been productive of such excellent results, and the efforts to reduce the number of lacunæ upon its shelves have again met with gratifying success.

GROWTH
OF THE LIB-
RARY RE-
SOURCES.

In this respect the officials renew their acknowledgments of the valuable assistance which they have received from members of the Council of Governors, Professors at the University, as well as readers, who, in the course of their investigations, have been able to call attention to the library's lack of important authorities. In most cases these deficiencies have been promptly supplied, whilst in the case of works

of rarity, which are not readily procurable, no effort has been spared to obtain them with the least possible delay. Suggestions of any kind which tend to the improvement of the library are welcomed, and receive prompt and sympathetic attention.

The additions to the library during the year, which number 3370 volumes, include many rare and interesting items, a few of which, taken almost at random, may be mentioned, as furnishing some idea of the character of the accessions which are constantly being obtained. The printed books include : the first edition of John Bunyan's "A discourse upon the pharisee and the publicane," 1685 ; Dante's "Divina commedia," 1555, the first edition in which the prefix "divina" is used ; John Florio's "Second frutes," 1591 ; "Worlde of wordes," 1598 ; and "Queen Anne's new world of words," 1611 ; the first edition of Montaigne's "Essayes done into English by John Florio," 1603 ; John Harington's translation of Ariosto's "Orlando furioso," 1591 ; Richard Brathwayte's "Natures embassie," 1621 ; "Times curtaine drawne," 1621 ; "Essaies upon the five senses," 1635 ; "An epitome of the Kinge of France," 1639 ; "Lignum Vitæ," 1658 ; and "Panthalia, or the Royal Romance," 1659 ; Barnabe Barnes' "Foure bookes of offices," 1606 ; Culpeper's "The idea of practical physic," [The Herbal], 1661 ; William Alexander, the Earl of Stirling's "Recreations with the muses," 1637 ; "A treatise of the cohabitacyon of the faithfull with the unfaithfull," 1535 ; Prisse d'Avenne's "L'art arabe," 4 vols., folio, 1870-80 ; "Collection des textes pour servir à l'étude de l'histoire," 49 vols., 1880-1913 ; César Daly's "L'architecture privée au 19^{me} siècle," 8 vols., folio, 1870-80 ; one of the five only known copies of "Statuta Lugdunensia," [Lyons, 1485 ?] ; "Ordinances made by Sir Francis Bacon," 1642 ; "The official records of the Union and Confederate armies in the War of the Rebellion in America," 130 vols. ; "The Psalms of David," translated by King James I, 1631 ; a number of works on Celtic language and literature from the library of the late Standish O'Grady, including a set of the proofs of his unfinished "Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the British Museum," which was never published ; Guillaume de Guilleville's "Pèlerinage de l'âme," Paris, Vêrard, 1499 ; and a number of works dealing with the history of British India, selected with the help of Professor Ramsay Muir.

THE
YEAR'S AC-
CESSIONS.

The manuscript purchases include : Eight Syriac and Greek codices containing several important inedited texts, from the library of Dr. Rendel Harris ; a collection of manuscripts, numbering forty pieces, of undetermined antiquity, in the language of the Mo'so people, a non-Chinese race scattered throughout Southern China, which were acquired through the instrumentality of Mr. George Forrest, who obtained them in the remote and little-known country of their origin, whence he returned a few months ago. "Le coutumier du pays du duché de Normandie," in a fifteenth century French hand ; Charles II : Letters Patent to Sir W. Killegrew, 1662, with a fine impression of the Great Seal attached ; "English Monumental inscriptions in Salisbury Cathedral," copied by T. H. Baker, 1903, 2 vols., fol. ; "Antiquitates Suffolciensis ;" heraldic and genealogical collections relating to the county of Suffolk, with 500 shields of arms drawn and emblazoned by the Rev. G. B. Jermyn, 4 vols.

In the following list of donors, which contains 121 names, we have fresh proof of the sustained and ever increasing practical interest in the library, and we take this opportunity of renewing our thanks, already expressed in another form, for these generous gifts, at the same time assuring the donors that these expressions of interest and goodwill are a most welcome source of encouragement to the governors.

GIFTS TO
THE LIB-
RARY.

John Ballinger, Esq.	Senor Fidelino de Figueiredo.
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Bodley's Librarian.	Garcia Rico y Cia.
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Andrew Macfarland Davis, Esq.	Charles Hughes, Esq.
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of Liverpool University.	

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logue of portraits relating to	G. P. Winship, Esq.
W. Penn.	Thomas J. Wise, Esq.
J. H. Reynolds, Esq.	

Aberystwyth. National Library of Wales.

Australian Government.

Barcelona. Catalans Institut d'Estudis.

Birmingham. Assay Office.

Cambridge University Library.

Cardiff Public Library.

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Chicago. John Crerar Library.

Chicago University Press.

Chicago. The Western Theological Seminary.

The Clarendon Press.

Copenhagen. Det Store Koneglige Bibliothek.

Cornell University Library.

Durham University Library.

Edinburgh University Library.

Groningen. Rijks-Universiteitbibliothek.

Habana. Academia Nacional.
Habana. Biblioteca Nacional.
Hyderabad Archæological Society.
Limoges. Bibliothèque.
Lisbon. Academia das Sciências.
Madras Government Museum.
Madras Government Press.
Manchester. Egyptian and Oriental Society.
Manchester. Free Reference Library.
Manchester. Municipal School of Technology.
Manchester. Victoria University.
Michigan University Library.
National Special Schools Union.
New Zealand. Government Statistician's Office.
New York. Metropolitan Museum of Art.
Order of the Cross, Paignton.
Paris. Ministère de la Justice.
Paris. Office des universités françaises.
Pennsylvania University Library.
Research Defence Society.
Rochdale Art Gallery.
Rome. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.
Sheffield. Hunter Archæological Society.
South Australia Public Library.
Stockholm. Kongelige Bibliothek.
Swedenborg Society.
Toronto Public Library.
Utrecht. Rijks-Universitäts-Bibliothek.
Washington. Congressional Library.
Washington. Smithsonian Institution.
Washington. United States National Museum.
Washington. Surgeon General's Office Library.
Washington University Library, St. Louis, Mo.
Yale University Library.

Special reference should be made to the gift of Mrs. Emmott, of Birkenhead, who has generously presented to the library a collection of works dealing with Roman law, and comparative law and juris-

prudence, numbering nearly 300 volumes, in memory of her husband, the late Professor Emmott, who filled the Queen Victoria Chair of Law, first in University College, and later in the University of Liverpool, from 1896 down to the time of his lamented death, in the hope that it may encourage others to take interest in a study in which the late Professor was himself so deeply interested, and upon which he was so great an authority. This collection forms a most welcome addition to our shelves, since it enables us to strengthen an important section of the library, which hitherto has been but very inadequately developed.

We have also received from the Secretary of State for India, through the kind offices of Prof. Ramsay Muir, and Mr. William Foster, the Superintendent of Records, a set, numbering nearly 500 volumes, of all the available Government reports and other publications, whether printed in this country or in India, relating to India. Furthermore, the library is to receive copies of all future publications from the same source. This has enabled us to lay excellent foundations of a collection of research material for the history of India, which will be developed as opportunities occur.

Interest in the public lectures, which were given in the library with the accustomed regularity, and which have come to be regarded as one of the established institutions of Manchester, has continued with but little abatement throughout the year. The evening audiences were not quite so crowded as in pre-war times, but the attendances more than justified the arrangements made. The attendances at the afternoon lectures, were, if anything, larger than usual. The syllabus included eight evening and three afternoon lectures, covering a wide and interesting range of subjects. The lecture of Dr. Rendel Harris on "The Origin of the Cult of Aphrodite" is printed in the present issue, whilst those of Professor Peake on "The Quintessence of Paulinism"; of Professor Elliot Smith on "Dragons and Rain Gods"; of Professor Tout on "Mediæval Town Planning"; and of Professor Herford on "The Poetry of Lucretius" will be given the permanence of print in these pages in due course.

Special lectures and demonstrations were also arranged at the request of a number of societies, craft guilds, training colleges, and schools of Manchester and the surrounding towns, and served to assist

those who attended to obtain a better knowledge of the contents of the library, and how it could serve them in their respective studies.

The exhibition which was arranged in the early part of the year, to commemorate the Three-hundredth Anniversary of the Death of Shakespeare, and which we described in our last issue, remained on view throughout the year, and was visited by a large number of people, including numerous groups of students from the schools and colleges in and around Manchester, with evident enjoyment, and avowed benefit.

SHAKE-
SPEARE
TERCEN-
TENARY
EXHIBI-
TION.

The descriptive and illustrated handbook, which was issued with the object of increasing the educational value of the exhibition, was greeted with unstinted praise by the press, not only in this country, but also in America, and in France. The volume affords full and accurate information as to the bibliographical peculiarities, and other features of interest possessed by the various exhibits, which included not only the works of Shakespeare, but those of many of his contemporaries and predecessors. It extends to 180 pages, is furnished with a sixteen-page list of works for the study of Shakespeare, and sixteen facsimiles of the title-pages of some of the rarer works, and may still be obtained from the usual agents, at the price of one shilling.

With the present issue we complete the third volume of the BULLETIN, and if we may judge by the welcome which has been accorded to it, in its revived form, both in this country and abroad, we are encouraged to believe that we have succeeded in realizing our aim, to secure for it the permanence of a literary organ, by the publication of a regular succession of original contributions to literature in addition to the regular features of a library periodical. We regret that it has not been found possible to publish it with the desired regularity during the past year. This is accounted for by the difficulties which have arisen through the shortage of labour, and also of paper ; but we shall employ every effort in the future to secure its regular appearance each quarter.

PUBLICA-
TIONS OF
THE
LIBRARY.

During the year we commenced the publication of a series of reprints of the principal articles appearing in our pages, with the object of giving them a much wider publicity, and at the same time of rescuing them from the fate of so many other important contributions to literature, which each year are simply buried and neglected for want

of similar treatment, because by an accident of birth they appear in the heart of some volume of transactions or other periodical publication. These reprints, of which six have already made their appearance, are bound in paper boards with cloth back, and may be procured from the usual publishers and agents at the price of one shilling each.

We have also republished in one volume (price 5s. net), under the title "The Ascent of Olympus," the four interesting articles by Dr. Rendel Harris, on the Greek cults, which have appeared at intervals in the BULLETIN. They are reproduced as nearly as possible in their original form, but with some corrections, expansions, justifications, and additional illustrations. In a short prefatory note Dr. Harris points out that it would have been easy to spread them over a much larger area; but perhaps they may suffice for the presentation of ideas which are to some extent novel, and, almost as certainly, to some persons distasteful.

On the one hand, says Dr. Harris, I have to meet the criticism of my wise friend and inspiring leader, who is priest of the mythological Nemi, and guardian of its "Golden Bough," until some one catches him unawares and dispossesses him. He tells me that he despairs of the solution of the riddle of the Greek Mythology, he who does not despair (and with better right than Haeckel) of the solution of the riddle of the Universe!

On the other hand, continues Dr. Harris, there are those who, having unfortunately been familiar with the Greek gods from their earliest years, and never really detached from traditional faith in them, cannot avoid contemplating the author of these lectures as an iconoclast, and put upon him the task, under which Socrates as well as the early Christians alike laboured, of proving to a suspicious bench of magistrates that they were really not atheists. So far from this being the case, it may be hoped that when one succeeds, if one does succeed, in evolving Artemis out of a wayside weed, or Aphrodite out of a cabbage, and, in general, all things lovely out of things that are not at first sight beautiful, one may claim to belong to the brotherhood, whatever its name may be, that has the vision of

That far-off divine évent
To which the whole creation moves.

The first volume of the new and standard edition of the "Odes

of Solomon," edited by Dr. Rendel Harris, and Dr. A. Mingana, made its appearance in October. It furnishes, for the first time, a facsimile of the original Syriac manuscript, now in the possession of the John Rylands Library, which is accompanied by a retranscribed text, with an attached critical apparatus.

The second volume, which may be looked for in the course of the year, will comprise a new translation of the "Odes" in English versicles, with brief comments by way of elucidation, an exhaustive introduction dealing with the variations of the fragment in the British Museum, with the original language, the probable epoch of their composition, their unity, the stylistic method of their first writer, the accessory patristic testimonies, a summary of the most important criticisms that have appeared since its first publication in 1909, a complete bibliography of the subject, and a glossary to the text.

The price of each volume is half-a-guinea net.

Elsewhere, in the present issue (pages 408-442), we print the fifth list of contributions to the new library for the University of Louvain. This does not by any means complete the record of gifts to date, but we are compelled, from considerations of space, to hold over a list of at least equal length of the more recent contributions until our next issue.

In thanking the various donors for these generous and welcome expressions of interest in our scheme of reconstruction, we have taken the opportunity on another page to renew and to emphasize our appeal for offers of suitable books, or contributions of money, to assist us in this endeavour to restore, at least in some measure, the resources of the crippled and exiled University.

The "View of London, 1610," which faces page 218 in our last issue, was inadvertently described as by Hollar, whereas it is by Hondius.

In a recent issue of the "Boston Evening Transcript," "the Bibliographer" calls attention to the discovery of a perfect copy of the first American edition of "The Pilgrim's Progress," the title-page of which reads:

The | Pilgrim's Progress | from | this World, | to
 | That which is to come ; | Delivered under the
 Similitude of a | DREAM. | Wherein is Discovered the
 Manner | of his setting out, the dangerous | Journey, | and |

LOUVAIN
LIBRARY
RECON-
STRUCTION

A CORREC-
TION.

THE FIRST
AMERICAN
EDITION OF
THE "PIL-
GRIM'S PRO-
GRESS".

Safe Arrival at the Desired Countrey. | (Rule) | By John Bunyan. | (Rule) | I have used Similitudes. Hosea 12. 10. | (Rule) | Boston in New-England | Printed by Samuel Green upon As- | signment of Samuel Sewall : and | are to be sold by John Usher | of Boston. 1681.

By this discovery the Boston Public Library loses the distinction, it has enjoyed hitherto, of possessing the only known copy of this interesting edition of John Bunyan's "chef d'œuvre". This edition made its appearance three years after the publication of the original English edition, which was issued in 1678, and of which an excellent copy is preserved in the John Rylands Library. The copy of the American edition under notice measures $3\frac{1}{2}$ by $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and contains the two blank leaves preceding the title-page, the leaf of advertisements, and the blank leaf at the end. The advertisement leaf lends additional interest to the copy, since it includes the announcement of the original edition of "The Captivity of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson," of which apparently no copy is at present known to have survived.

We are indebted to the same writer for information concerning the fate of the Britwell Court collection of "Americana," purchased recently from Mr. Christie-Miller for Mr. Henry E. Huntington of New York. It would appear, THE BRIT-
WELL
AMERI-
CANA. that in purchasing the Britwell collection, Mr. Huntington was actuated by the same spirit which led the Second Earl Spencer, the founder of the famous Althorp Library, to ransack Europe in his eagerness to enrich his already famous collection with whatever was fine and rare, even to the purchase of duplicates, so that he might exercise the choice of copies. In this way he acquired entire libraries in order that he might improve his collection of early English books by the addition of specimens of famous presses not hitherto represented, and in some cases by the substitution of copies which were better than those he had previously possessed. If we may judge by Mr. Huntington's recent purchase he shares with the late Earl Spencer the appreciation of the external beauties of a choice book, with a just and keen estimate of its intrinsic merits. It was the practice of Lord Spencer after making these advantageous substitutions and additions, promptly to send the residue of his purchase to the auctioneers for sale. He never cherished the selfish delight of some

eminent collectors in putting two identical copies of an extremely rare book on his own shelves, expressly in order that neither of them should fill a gap in the library of another collection.

In this respect, also, we venture to believe that Mr. Huntington has followed Lord Spencer's example in deciding to sell by auction the residue of the Britwell books, together with the substituted copies from his own library.

As we go to press, the welcome news of the fall of Baghdad reaches us, and considering the immeasurable importance of the event, we have thought it not inappropriate to ask Dr. Mingana to favour our readers with his views on certain aspects of its significance. Dr. Mingana writes with the authority of one who is intimately acquainted not only with the city of Baghdad, but also with the surrounding country of Mesopotamia, where he has spent a great part of his life.

THE
FALL OF
BAGHDAD.

THE ORIGIN OF THE CULT OF APHRODITE.¹

BY J. RENDEL HARRIS, M.A., LITT.D., ETC.,

HON. FELLOW OF CLARE COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

WE have in previous essays shown that it was possible to dig down to the ground form of a number of the cults of the divinities which go to make up the Greek pantheon. Dionysus has been traced back to the ivy on the oak, and we can go no further in the direction of origins than this ; we are actually at the starting-point of the cult, whatever other elements, ritual or orgiastic, may be combined with the Ivy Cult. In the same way Apollo has been traced to the mistletoe on the apple-tree, which is a secondary form of the mistletoe on the oak, and we have shown that his skill as a healer and master in wizardry is due to the all-healing powers of his mistletoe and to certain other plants in his medical garden. From these conceptions the Apollo Cult must proceed, and although there is still some unresolved complexity in the cult, the major part of it is translucent enough. Artemis, too, with her woman's medicines, and garden of herbs helpful and of herbs hurtful, is now a much more intelligible figure, though still containing perplexities for further study and resolution. She, too, is, in the first instance, personified medicine.

We now pass on to the Cult of Aphrodite, and find ourselves face to face with a problem in which our previous investigations appear not to lend any assistance. She is a daughter of Zeus by tradition, apparently of Zeus and Dione, but there seems no way of attaching her to the sky, either bright or dark, or to the oak-tree, or to the woodpecker, or to the ivy or the mistletoe, or to a medical garden. Moreover, by common consent, she is ruled out of the company of gods with Greek originals. She is an immigrant in the Greek pantheon, an alien, however desirable, and however much at home. Her luggage has Cyprus labels on it, to say nothing of other islands where she has made stay ; and this has not unnaturally led to the view that she is Oriental and not Greek at all. In spite of the interest

¹ A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library, 17 October, 1916.



MANDRAKE

(From Sibthorp's "Flora Graeca")

- a* Calyx cum pistillo. *b* Corolla, arte explanata, cum staminibus. *c* Pistillum seorsim. *d* Bacca matura. *e* Semen.

which she takes in other people's business, she has no direct cult-relations with the rest of the gods, she does not share temples nor honours except in rare and insignificant cases¹; her worship is conventional as far as the sacrifices are concerned, and no special animal, not even the dove, betrays by its presence the links which connect the great goddess of Love with her past: and yet we are sure that she had a past, even if we do not at first know in what direction to look for it. The Greek mythology tells us nothing: the poets play with her name and perpetrate philological impertinences to show why she is born of the foam (*ἀφρός*), and only lead us from the truth, instead of towards it, by their industrious myth-spinning. We evidently must begin this enquiry *de novo*, both as regards the ancient mythologists and their modern representatives. We will not even assume too hastily that she is a foreigner: for that requires the underlying assumption that the Greeks had no god or goddess of Love of their own and had no necessity for one, which I, for one, find extremely difficult to believe. Cyprus and Cythera may turn out to be not so far from the mainland after all: and even if she did originate in Cyprus or Cythera, we have still to be told the story of her birth. Is she a personified force of nature, a vegetable demon of fertility, some person or thing that makes for growth and multiplies products? Can we look on her as another view of the Corn-Mother, or as a spirit of physical inebriation, like Dionysos? or is it possible that she, too, may be like Apollo and Artemis, the virtue of a plant?

As we have said, her relation to Zeus is merely ornamental: so that if she has a vegetable origin, it can hardly be found in the oak or its parasites. It would have to be sought in that part of the botanical world that is supposed to have sexual virtues. Now a little enquiry into the history of medicine, which we have shown to be for the most part the history of plants, will tell us that the ancients were very interested in determining what plants would make people fall in love with one another; they used their observation leisurely and their imagination industriously, and in the end they evolved all that branch of magic which has for its object the manufacture of philtres and potions, and, as Falstaff would say, "medicines to make me love him".

¹ The case of Dodona is not included: for here Aphrodite is hardly to be distinguished from Dione; the Dodona Cult is about the oldest thing in Greek religion.

Now it is clearly not an impossible thing that Aphrodite may have something to do with this wizardry : and, therefore, we will not too hastily assume that she is altogether out of kinship with Apollo and Artemis-Hekaté. Something, for instance, of a medical nature must be involved in the fact that "at Oropus she shared an altar with Athena the healer, and the daughters of Asklepios".¹

We cannot, however, help feeling that this medical element which put her in the medical school of Athens is something unusual, and that she might more properly be called Panalgeia than Panakeia.

Suppose, now, we ask of the herbalist the question as to which of his simples is likely to operate most powerfully on the affections. If he belongs to the ancient world, he will reply without a moment's hesitation that Mandragora, or Mandrake, is the thing for our money : if he belong to the modern world, he will say that mandragora is only an opiate and not a stimulant. We leave the modern wizards on one side, and interrogate the ancient. What have they to say of this "drowsy syrup" ? The answer is full and marvellous. The mandrake is a root which shrieks terribly when you pull it out of the ground ; it is, indeed, so dangerous that you must not try to pull it : better tie a dog to the stalk and then entice the dog towards you with a *bonne bouche* : stop your ears by way of precaution, and use your eyes to see the last dying agonies of the dog who has pulled the root for you. Then go and pick it up. To your surprise, you will find the root to have a human form, sometimes male, and sometimes female : it is, in fact, like Falstaff's "forked radish," a little parody of man : for the description of the youthful Justice Shallow as a "forked radish" led on to the comparison of him with a mandrake. The experts will tell you that it is rarely to be found except under the gallows, and that it is the humours and juices of the suspended person, especially if the victim of the law be innocent, that have given it the human form.

Naturally one asks whether this is really ancient lore : is it not a myth made in English out of the first syllable of mandrake ? Then we recall how Medea, when she wished to make Jason secure from the brazen bulls that breathed fire on him, supplied him with an unguent made from a flower that had been fed with the ichor of the

¹ Farnell, *Cults*, ii. 657.

innocent, martyred Prometheus ; so we feel certain that we are, in the main, dealing with primitive matters.

So we must interrogate the herbalists and see where mandrake is to be found, and what can be done with it when you find it. The first thing one comes across is the well-known story in Genesis where little Reuben brings home to his mother Leah some pretty apples which he has found in the field : and Leah, who has no special need for such stimulants, trades them off to her sister Rachel for a consideration. The same love-apples turn up among the flora of the Song of Solomon, where we learn that in the spring-time they give an agreeable scent, a point upon which all nasal artists are not by any means agreed.¹ Let us see what old Gerarde has to say on the question of Mandrake : he tells us (p. 357) : “ There hath been many ridiculous tales brought up of this plant, whether of old wives, or some runnagate surgeons, or physicke-mongers I know not (a title bad enough for them) but sure some one or moe that sought to make themselves famous or skilful above others were the first brochiers of that errour I speake of : [the supposed human form of the Mandrake]. They adde further that it is never, or very seldome, to be found growing naturally but under a gallowse, where the matter that hath fallen from the dead body hath given it the shape of a man ; and the matter of a woman the substance of a female plant, with many other such doltish dreams. They fable further and affirme, That he who would take up a plant thereof must tie a dog thereunto to pull it up, which will give a great shreeke at the digging up : otherwise if a man should do it, he should surely die in short space after. Besides many fables of loving matters, too full of scurrilitie to set forth in print, which I forbear to speak of. All which dreames and old wives tales you shall from henceforth cast out of your books and memory ; knowing this, that they are all and everie part of them false and most untrue : for I myselfe and my servants also have digged up, planted and replanted very many, and yet never could either perceive shape of man or woman, but sometimes one straight root, sometimes two, and often six or seven branches coming from the maine great root, even as Nature list to bestow upon

¹ Howbeit Levinus Lemnius saith, in his discourse on the *Secret Miracles of Nature*, that the “ male Mandrake beareth a lovely pleasant and sweet-scented Apple, like to the yelk of a Hen’s Egg, by the enticement whereof Rachel was allured ” (p. 264, Anglice).

it, as to other plantes. But the idle drones that have little or nothing to do but eate and drinke, have bestowed some of the time in carving the roots of Brionie, forming them to the shape of men and women : which falsifying practise hath confirmed the error amongst the simple and unlearned people, who have taken them upon their report to be true Mandrakes."

Evidently we want to know some of the fables of loving matters, to which Gerarde refers. Meanwhile, we note that this story of plant-extraction by dogs is a very old belief. That it was, in early times, considered dangerous to dig up the plants may be seen from the directions which Pliny gives to the excavators to keep to the windward of the plant, and then, after tracing round it three circles with the sword, to dig it up with one's face turned to the West.¹

As to the supposed virtues of the plant which Gerarde derides, it is sufficient to establish the antiquity of the belief in them, and we can then safely infer a corresponding antiquity of the associated practices.

Dioscorides lets the cat out of the bag by saying² that some people call the mandrake by the name *Circaea*, because its root is thought to be an efficacious philtre :—

ἐπειδὴ δοκεῖ ἡ ῥίζα φίλτρων εἶναι ποιητική.

Theophrastus has the same statement, and appears to be the source from which Pliny took his account of the manner of obtaining the root :—

περιγράφειν δὲ καὶ τὸν μανδραγόραν εἰς τρεῖς ξίφει, τέμνειν δὲ πρὸς ἑσπέραν βλέποντα· τὸν δ' ἕτερον κύκλῳ περιορχεῖσθαι, καὶ λέγειν ὡς πλείστα περὶ ἀφροδισίων.

Theophrastus : *De genere plantarum*.

We are to talk love at the top of our bent when digging the love-apple. So we need have no hesitation in saying that the mandrake was the love-apple of the ancients. Its Hebrew name *Dudai* is referred to the same stem (*Dōd* or *Dōdō*) from which the beloved *David* and *Dido* come, and gives the sense of fruit-of-love or love-apple exactly,

¹ Pliny, *H.N.* xxv. 13 (94). Cf. the cutting of the mistletoe on the sacred oak of Errol after it has been gone round three times sun-wise. Cf. also Theophrastus, *infra*.

² Diosc., *De Mat. Med.* iv. 76.





DISCOVERY PRESENTING THE MANDRAKE TO DIOSCORIDES
(From the Leiden Facsimile of the "Vienna Dioscorides")



Κυων ἀνασπῶν τὸν μανδραγόρα ἐπαγ' ἄπο θηήσκων. ~

DISCOVERY PRESENTING THE MANDRAKE TO DIOSCORIDES

(From the "Vienna Dioscorides," as reproduced in Lambecius' "Commentariorum . . .")



DISCOVERY HOLDING THE MANDRAKE
(From the Leiden Facsimile of the "Vienna Dioscorides")



DISCOVERY HOLDING THE MANDRAKE

(From the "Vienna Dioscorides," as reproduced in Lambecius' "Commentariorum . . .")

especially when we note how the Septuagint translate the *Dudaim* by the term *μῆλα μανδραγόρων* or *mandrake-apples*. The fruit is not unlike a yellow apple in appearance, and Parkinson says it is "Of the bigness of a reasonable pippin and as yellow as gold when it is thoroughly ripe".¹ Parkinson follows Gerarde in his scorn for the popular beliefs in the physical effects of the mandrake in other than soporific directions, but while he refuses to go into the matter in detail, and tells us to consult Matthiolus if we want to know, he lets us incidentally into one little secret, by saying² that "great and strange effects are supposed to be in the Mandrake to cause women to be fruitfull and to beare children, *if they shall but carry the same neare unto their bodies*". Evidently the plant was worn as a charm about the waist, or in the girdle, and could produce its effect without being taken internally either as root or apple.

Our next question is whether this love-apple can in any way be connected with Aphrodite, in the same way as we connected Apollo with the apple and the mistletoe and Artemis with the mugwort. The answer comes from an unexpected quarter. Hesychius has amongst his glosses an explanation of the term *μανδραγορίτις* (*She of the Mandrake*) and he interprets it to mean Aphrodite.

That would be quite conclusive if it were not for the fact that it is preceded by another gloss to the effect that *Μανδράγορος* means Zeus. We find accordingly,

Μανδράγορος = Zeus.

Μανδραγορίτις = Aphrodite.

Clearly we have to explain why Zeus is "He of the mandrake," as well as why Aphrodite is the lady of the mandrake. At first sight this looks difficult. It almost requires a Zeus-Aphroditos which would, to the ancient world, sound like a contradiction in terms.

Evidently, then, we do not yet know the ancient mind with regard to the plant with sufficient accuracy, and we must delve a little deeper and employ a little more canine skill in the extraction of the root. We shall discover that the mandrake was regarded by the early botanists as existing in two species, which they called *male* and *female*³; next, that when you pulled a mandrake, the human form

¹ *Theatr. Botan.* p. 343.

² *l.c.* p. 353.

³ Thus Levinus Lemnius: "Theophrastus and other searchers into the nature of plants have wisely divided them into Males and Females, by the

which you extracted was, again, either male or female ; and lastly, that Aphrodite herself had a cult-figure, according to which she was both male and female, and this representation existed in Cyprus, the original home of the goddess : to which may be added the fact that the persons who traded off fictitious mandrakes on a too credulous world adorned their frauds with hair and beard after the fashion of the Cypriote image already referred to.

We begin with Aphrodite and her possible bi-sexuality. Macrobius tells us as follows :—¹

Signum autem eius est Cypri barbatum corpore, sed vesti muliebri, cum sceptro ac natura virili ; et putant eandem marem ac feminam esse. Aristophanes eam Ἀφρόδιτον appellat. Laevius etiam sic ait : Venerem igitur alnum adorans, sive femina sive mas est, ita uti alma Noctiluca est.

Here we have some astonishing statements. A bearded Venus in Cyprus, hardly female at all except for her dress : thought indeed by the Cypriotes to be both male and female. It is the plant evidently that is responsible for this ambiguity : and Macrobius goes on to quote a jest of Aristophanes about Aphroditos, and a statement of another author about the adoration of an *almus* Venus (male or female, fish or flesh as the case may be), and concerning her shining by night. Here again, we seem to be on the track of the plant ; Venus is affirmed to shine by night, as in the case of the magic fern-seed, and other treasure-disclosing vegetables.²

reason that some are fruitful and bear seed, but others are barren and bring forth none. . . . The Female Mandragora is either barren or bears very small fruit.”—*Secret Miracles of Nature*, p. 264.

¹ *Sat.* iii. 8, 3.

² That there was a bearded goddess in Cyprus is also attested by Hesychius, who reports that the author of the history of Amathus in Cyprus says that the goddess was represented in the Island in the form of a man :—

Ἀφρόδιτος· ὁ δὲ τὰ περὶ Ἀμαθοῦντα γεγραφὼς
ἄνδρα τὴν θεὸν ἐσχημάτισθαι ἐν Κύπρῳ λέγει·

Hesychius, s.v. Ἀφρόδιτος.

For the goddess' beard we have also the attestation of Suidas :—

Ἀφροδίτη· πλάττουσι δὲ αὐτὴν καὶ γένειον ἔχουσαν.

Hesychius also points out that it is this bearded Aphroditos that gave rise to the later Hermaphroditos, which leads us to infer that the mandragoros which Hesychius identifies with Zeus ought more correctly to have been called Hermes.

Meanwhile, there is no need to trouble any further over Hesychius and his *Zeus Mandragoras*: he is only the conjugate of the vegetable Aphrodite: a male counterpart had to be found for the plant of inconstant sex, and Zeus will do for this requirement quite as well as, shall we say, Hermes.¹ We may, therefore, identify Aphrodite with the mandrake, provided we can carry back the traditions to a sufficiently early date; for of course we must not manufacture early deities out of late folk-lore. That the mandrake is man-formed is, certainly, a very early tradition. Dioscorides tells us that Pythagoras called it *ἄνθρωπόμορφον*. The same writer tells us that the Romans called the fruit *mala canina*, which betrays the tale of its extraction by a dog.

The reference to the human form of the mandrake is due, in the first instance, to the bifurcation of the root (cf. the "forked radish"

Servius on Vergil, *Aen.* ii. 632, has the same tradition of the bearded goddess, and discusses the use of the masculine *θεός* as applied to a goddess: as follows:—

Ac ducente deo: secundum eos qui dicunt utriusque sexus participationem habere numina. nam et Calvus: *pollentemque Deum Venerem*. item Vergilius (vii. 498): *nec dextrae erranti deus abfuit*: cum aut Juno fuerit, aut Aleto. est etiam in Cypro simulacrum barbatae Veneris [corpore et veste muliebri cum sceptro et natura virili;] quod *Ἀφρόδιτον* vocatur, (cui viri in veste muliebri, mulieres in virili veste sacrificant; quanquam veteres *deum* pro magno numine dicebant. Sallustius: *ut tanta mutatio non sine deo videretur*) et hoc ad Graecorum imitationem, qui *ὁ θεὸς καὶ ἡ θεὸς* dicunt, sicut *ὁ ἄνθρωπος καὶ ἡ ἄνθρωπος*, vir et femina.

It is interesting that, according to Servius, the image of the goddess is called *Ἀφρόδιτον*.

¹ The reason why Zeus was selected as the male consort may, however, be divined with some degree of probability. If Aphrodite was to have a consort in Cyprus it should certainly have been Adonis. Now if we look at Dioscorides and his description of the male and female mandrake, we shall find him speaking of a third variety which he calls *μόριον* (*morion*). This mysterious *μόριον* is nothing else but the Syriac word for "Our Lord" transliterated into Greek, and in Cyprus its proper equivalent is Adonis. Apparently someone has misunderstood the reference and called the mandrake by the name of Zeus, to whom the term "Our Lord" might more properly be held to apply. So we suspect that originally the male and female mandrake were Adonis and Aphrodite. The difficulty is that in the popular tradition Adonis has not yet developed a beard. (If our interpretation is right, it will carry with it the meaning of Adonis-town for the Cypriote city Marion, near to Amathus, where the bearded goddess was worshipped. In Amathus itself, according to Pausanias (9, 41, 2), the goddess and Adonis had one temple).

of Shakespeare)¹; it was this bifurcation that led to the finding of a head and arms in the plant to match the legs and all other necessary accessories. Columella accordingly described the root as half-human.

Quamvis semihominis vesano gramine foeta
Mandragorae pariat flores.

De re rustica, x. 19, 20.

But what appeared to the philosopher as manlike, and to the professor of agriculture as half-human, was easily carried by the vulgar into a more exact delineation of the human form.

Thus in the earlier printed herbals we have actual representations of the emerging human forms, as the plant is plucked out of the ground. The *Hortus sanitatis*, for example, of 1491 gives us the accompanying representations, which have mythology written across their very face. One can see Aphrodite rising out of the ground a great deal more clearly than the Greeks saw her rising out of the sea.

We must not say that our ancestors had nothing to work upon in their representations. If we were to consult Sibthorp's splendid volumes on the Greek Flora, we should find a picture of the mandrake, root and all, which is really not unsuggestive of the lower part of the human anatomy. Our frontispiece shows a copy of the plate in Sibthorp from which it can be judged whether I have overstated the case. One way of determining the hold which the ideas about the mandrake had upon the human mind is to watch the efforts which the more scientific herbalists make to shake these beliefs off. We have already alluded to Gerarde: here is an extract from Parkinson who insists that there is no danger in the extraction of the root, and nothing human in its shape. In his *Garden of Pleasant Flowers* (A.D. 1629), much of which is repeated in the *Theatrum Botanicum*, we find as follows:—

“The Mandrake is distinguished into two kinds, the male and the female; the male hath two sorts, the one differing from the other, as shall be shewd, but of the female I know but one. The male is frequent in many gardens, but the female in that it is more tender

¹ Dodonaeus, *Hist. of Plants*, p. 437: “The roote is great and white, not muche unlyke a Radishe roote, divided into two or three partes, and sometimes growing one upon another, almost lyke the thighes and legges of a man”.

- Y^m) Platearius differ rinden als groß als dyr keller gewicht gebat
ten für die schenck der frauwen bringet menstrui vñ dryket vñ das
Y^m) dot hnt. B Dis rinden gestoissen zu puluer vnd genutzet mit eys
nem elistier machet flassen vnd rüwen für alle ander kunst.
Yⁿ) Item dis würrzel gesotten in wyn vñ vñ das gegicht geleyt der
gliedder ist den wechum stillen.



Mādragoza
Capitulum

M Andrago
Sie mei
lichen daz
selbe dogent mit
vmb beschribē ich
wan als du geho-
pitel für dissem.

alrun. straw
.ccelviij.

ra mulier latine
ster sprechen gemeß
dis alrun habe die
der ersten vnd dar
nit meen dar von
ret haist in dem cas

MANDRAKE (FEMALE)

(From the German "Herbarius". Mainz : Schoeffer, 1485)



Mādragoza Capitulum

M Andragora
mon uel tir
rat

Die
meylich daz zweyer
Eyn der man. Die
In dē bñch genant
ken vns die meyster
dragoza sy kalc vñ
ten grade. Vnd diß
ge des meisters Au
hait spitzer bletter
ñch meister sprechē
nutzer werde in der
menlich. aber wie dē
die alle kede vñ ha
tuer. **I**te die mei
auch in dē bñch cir
chen daz diß wūrz
den vñ geformet
schen als mannen
sprechē die meyster
warheyt vff ym ha
meret sint vñ solich

mit in der erdē sunder sie werdē gemacht vō kunsten vñ also geßaltē.

alrun Man ·relvit·

latine. grece anti
ceon. arabice lekor
meister sprechē ges
hand sy der alrun
ander die frauwe.
circa instās beschri
vñ sprechē daz mā
drucken an dē drit
ist auch die meymū
cenne. Die frauwe
wan der man. Etz
daz die freulich ge
argny vnd mit die
sy so bruchet man
ken bynake eyn na
ster beschriben vns
ca instās vñ spre
geln vkauffet wer
sint gleich dē men
vñ frauwe. Dar zu
daz ey solichs ley
ke vñ nit also for
wūrzeln wachsen

MANDRAKE (MALE)

(From the German "Herbarius". Mainz: Schoeffer, 1485)

Tractatus

Alia species q̄ nōlatur narbus ad ministrat a cūrgicis q̄r volunt membrū aliquod incidere. 7 q̄n bibīt solat̄ q̄d d̄r suffocās ei est tyriaca. **M** Et idē auct. Rasis. Dixit mihi q̄dā ex antiq̄s babilōnie. q̄ q̄dam p̄nella p̄medit quinq̄ poma mādragore. 7 cecidit sincopizata. et tota effecta est rubicūda. et quidē supueniens effudit sup̄ caput ei⁹ aq̄ nimis donec surrexit. **E**t ego vidi hōies q̄sumpserunt de radice eius cā impinguādi. et accidit eis sicut accidē solz hōibus ingrediētibz balneum et bibētibz post exitum vinū multū. nā fac⁹ fuit vultus eoz nimis rubicundus. **P** Et idem auct. dyal. Radicē mādragore multi dāt ad amorē.



Ca. cclxxvij.

Andragora femine. Serap̄. auct. dyal. Et femie color est niger 7 nominatur landachis siue bādachis aut lactuca. Mā in folijs ei⁹ est similitudo cū folijs lactuce. 7 sunt pinguia q̄uis odoris. 7 extendunt sup̄ faciem tere. ī medio

folioz eius est similemispili 7 est losach. 7 citrini colo. hñs odorē bonū. 7 itra ip̄z sunt grana similia granis piroz. 7 habet radices magnas mediocriter duas l̄ tres adherentes inuicē exteri⁹ nigras 7 interi⁹ albas. sup̄ q̄s est cortex grossus. Et hec species mandragore non habet stipitem

Operationes.

A Mandragora fortissimi odoris est. ab hōine ieiuno nō colligit̄. **U**tri usq̄ vis vna est. Nec cum polēta trita feruores oculoꝝ 7 dolores aurīū sedat. **R**adix eius cū aceto trita 7 illita ignem sacrum curat. **A**uicenna. Mandragora somnū puocat. Et q̄n ponit̄ in vino vehementer inebriat. Multusq̄ vsus ei⁹ 7 odoramentū. faciūt apoplexiā. **L**ac eius euellit lentigines. et pannū sine mordicatōe. Soluēdo at̄ educit colerā 7 flegma. **F** Radix eius trita et cū aceto imposita sup̄ herisipilam sanat eā. Semen eius matricem mundificat. v̄l vomitum prouocat.



MANDRAKE (FEMALE)

(From the Latin "Hortus Sanitatis". Mainz: Meydenbach, 1491)

Tractatus



Ca. cc lxxv.

Manna: vtriusq[ue] Pluicenna. Est ros ca-
dens super lapidem. et plantas. et
habet plures species. et denotata
est tereniabin. et siracost. et succaz haoser
est de speciebus eius. Est ait Pluicenna.
Manna diuersificatur fm diuersitatem
rerum sup[er] q[ui]s cadit recipiens ab eis diuer-
sitates et vtutes. apud nos vidi duas spe-
cies. vna quaz est granulosa non piuncta
granulis. alia p[er] globata q[ua] artificio magis
vide[re] sophisticata ex zuccaro cocta et fo-
lijs sene quoz frustula inmixta vident[ur] sa-
poram (qui sene) ostendit Pera. li. aggre.
cap. men. i. manna est ca. et abstergit et la-
uat. et est ca. in p[ri]mo gradu tpata hūidita-
te et siccitate. Est idem auct[or]: Rasis dixit q[uo]d
dem māna cadit sup[er] arborem q[ua] d[icitu]r tama-
riscus sicut mel. et q[ua]n[do] facit moram sup[er] plā-
tam illam albescit. sed quando ibi nō mo-
ratur. sed colligitur cito cum folio eius est
viridis. Ap[er]ior ex ea est cuius color ē cla-
rus appropinquās albedini: et h[ab]et parum

ruboris. Plinius: Manna est omnis ros
cadens sup[er] lapidez aut arborem et fit dul-
cis et coagulatur sicut mel. Et exsiccat sicut
gummi quemadmodum tereniabin. Est
alia species q[ua] vocat[ur] tereniabin. p[er] quale
ge capittulū. Tereniabin.

Operationes.

A Serapion. auct[or]. Rasis: Que de sp[eci]e
cadit sup[er] arborem tamarisci est bona tu-
ssi et asperitate pectoris. Colligit eā Ras[is]
et dixit q[uo]d manna cadit sup[er] arbore q[ua] d[icitu]r Ta-
mariscus sicut mel. **B** Et idem auct[or].
Babir. Est ca. in fine p[ri]mi sicca p[ro]p[ri]as
caliditati. p[er]fert relaxatōi stomachi. et ab-
stringit ventrem. et puenit aq[ua] citrine quā-
do bibitur de ea. emplastrat venter. et in-
greditur in medicinis apostematū. **E**
Est exsiccat catarz q[ua]n[do] sit caput purgium.
q[ua]n[do] mūdificat cerebz et expellit ab eo ven-
rositatē g[ra]ssam: **B** Est fortificat medi-
cinas q[ua]n[do] miscet[ur] cū eis in potionib[us] et ca-
put purgijs. et delet ap[er]ta flegrica. et mis-
cet[ur] in p[er]fectionib[us] p[ro]pter excellēs iuu-
mentum quod est in ea.



MANDRAKE (MALE)

(From the Latin "Hortus Sanitatis". Mainz: Meydenbach, 1491)

and rare, is noursed up but in few. . . . The roote is long and thicke, blackish on the outside and white within, consisting many times but of one long roote, and sometimes divided into two branches, a little below the head, and sometimes into three or more, as nature listeth to bestow upon it, as my selfe have often seene by the transplanting of many parts of the rootes, but never found harm in so doing, as many idle tales have been set down in writing, and delivered up also by report, of much danger to happen to such as should digge them up or break them ; neyther have I ever seene any forme of man-like or woman-like parts, in the rootes of any ; but as I have said, it hath oftentimes two maine roots running down right into the ground, and sometimes three, and sometimes but one, as it likewise often happeneth to parsneps, carrots, and the like. But many counterfeit roots have been shaped to such forms, and publicly exposed to the view of all that would see them, and have been tolerated by the chief magistrates of this citye, notwithstanding that they have been informed that such practices were meere deceit and insufferable ; whether this happened through their over credulitie of the thing or of the persons, or through an opinion that the information of the truth rose upon envy, I know not, I leave that to the searcher of all hearts. But this you may be bold to rest upon and assure yourselves, that such formes as have bin publickly exposed to be seene, were never so formed by nature, but only by the art and cunning of knaves and deceivers, and let this be your *Galeatum* against all such vaine, idle and ridiculous toyes of men's inventions."

These be very bitter words. Let us see what the knaves and deceivers had actually been doing, animated, no doubt, by a shortage in the supply of mandrake from the Mediterranean or the Levant.

Matthioli, from whom much in Parkinson and Gerarde is derived, tells us the story of a man whom he cured in the spital at Rome of a certain disease, who in gratitude confided to him the secret of the manufacture of fictitious mandrakes ; he said that he made them out of bryony roots, and sold them to ladies desirous of offspring ; in order to produce the proper hair and beards and the like, which a true mandrake ought to show, he used to plant little grains of millet in artificial hollows of the root, and bury the root again until the millet seeds had sprouted and thrown out the necessary hirsute additions to

the root that was to go upon the market.¹ These attempts at producing a bearded mandrake, etc., are instructive: they show us what was the popular acceptation of the plant, and help us again to understand the bearded Venus of Cyprus of whom Macrobius speaks. Matthioli does not, like his followers, deny the bifurcation of the root, though he does deny the existence of the human form in the mandrake. As his account is valuable because of the traditions which it gathers up, I transcribe the main body of his statement on the mandrake.

Matthioli, *Comm. in lib. quartum Dioscoridis*, pp. 759 ff. Mandragorae utrumque genus frequens nascitur in compluribus Italiae locis, praesertim in Apulia Gargano monte, unde radicum cortices, et poma herbarii quotannis ad nos convehunt. Habentur et in viridariis spectaculi gratia: etenim Neapoli, Romae et Venetiis utramque mandragoram in hortis et vasis fictilibus satam vidimus. Sed profecto vanum ac fabulosum est, quod mandragorae radices ferant, quae humanam effigiem repraesentant, ut ignarum vulgus, et simplices mulierculae certo credunt et affirmant. Quibus etiam persuasum est, eas effodi nequaquam posse, nisi cum magno vitae periculo, cane qui effodiat radicibus adalligato, et auribus pice obturatis, ne radicis clamorem audiant effodientes, quod audita voce periclitentur pereantque fossores. Quippe radices illae, quae humanam formam referunt, quas impostores ac nebulones quidam venales circumferunt, infoecundas mulieres decepturi, factitiae sunt ex harundinum, bryoniae, aliarumque plantarum radicibus. Sculpunt enim in his adhuc virentibus tam virorum quam mulierum formas, infixis hordii et milii granis, iis in locis, ubi pilos exoriri volunt; deinde facta scrobe tamdiu tenui sabulo obruunt, quousque grana illa radices emittant; id quod fiet viginti ad summum dierum spatio. Eruunt eas demum, et adnatas e granis radices acutissimo cultello scindunt, aptantque ita ut capillos, barbam et ceteros corporis pilos referant. Hujus sane rei certam fidem facere possum, quod cum Romae essem, impostorem quendam circumforaneum lue Gallica correptum nobis curare contigit, qui praeter alias innumeras imposturas, quibus circumventis hominibus, multam pecuniam extorquens, docuit et artem qua factitias sibi comparabat Mandragoras, quarum complures mihi demonstravit, asserens unam tantum interdum divitibus vendidisse quinque et viginti, nonnunquam etiam triginta aureis. Quamobrem nos, qui omnium utilitati et saluti quantum possumus consulimus, haec silentio haudquaquam involvenda duximus, ut palam omnibus fiat, quibus fallaciis et fraudibus maximo cum detrimento, et vitae saepe discrimine, homines ab iis impostoribus et nebulonibus decipiantur. Qui ut antiquorum quoque autoritate suas imposturas abstruant, praedicant Pythagoram vocasse Mandragoram anthro-

¹ So Bacon, *Natural History* (ed. Spedding, 2, 533): "Some plants there are, but rare, that have a mossy or downy root; and likewise *that have a number of threads, like beards*; as mandrakes, whereof witches and impostors make an ugly image, giving it the form of a face at the top of the root, and leaving those strings to make a broad beard down to the foot".

pomorphon, quod eam humanam formam reddere coluerint. Verum sciendum est, non sine rationi mandragoram ita a Pythagora dictam fuisse: quippe quod in universum omnes fere mandragorae radices a medio ad imum bifurcatae proveniant, adeo ut crura hominum modo habere videantur. Quapropter si illo effodientur tempore, quo fructum gerunt, qui mali instar super folia ad terram procumbentia brevi pediculo appensus, parum a radice distat, hominis qui brachia desint effigiem quadantenus repraesentant. Hanc quidem rem nulli, quod sciam, vel pauci sunt, qui recte acceperunt. . . . Sed ut ad fabulam illam redeamus quae periculum denuntiat ignaris radices mandragora effodere volentibus . . . ea mihi quidem desumta videntur a Flavio Iosepho, etc.

It is amusing to find that Matthiolus thought that he could explain a world-wide (or almost world-wide) piece of folk-tradition by a reference to Josephus. It will be well to emphasise the diffusion of the belief in the digging of the mandrake and its dangers both chronologically and territorially. For instance, Josephus with his story of the digging of a root which he calls Baaras must be taken as evidence of the folk-lore of Palestine. He does not seem to identify the Baaras with the mandrake, and no one seems to know about it, nor whether it is used as a love-philtre, or only for medical purposes and associated magic. He seems to think that the plant is named after a place near the castle of Machaerus on the Dead Sea, where John the Baptist was incarcerated; the root had a colour like flame, and towards evening sent out a ray like lightning. We naturally compare stories of the fern-seed, and of the Aphrodite Noctiluca, referred to above. There was danger in extracting the root, but, says Josephus, there was a safe way of getting it: "They dig a trench quite round it till the hidden part of the root is very small, then they tie a dog to it, and when the dog tries hard to follow him that tied him, this root is easily plucked up, but the dog dies immediately, as it were, instead of the man that would take the plant away; nor after this would any one be afraid of taking it into their hands. . . . If it be only brought to sick persons, it quickly drives away those called demons, which are no other than the spirits of the wicked, which enter into men that are alive, and kill them, unless they can obtain some help against them."¹

It certainly looks as if it were the mandrake that Josephus and his dog had been extracting, and using as a charm against evil spirits. The same belief was noted last century in the furthest parts of Armenia.

¹ Jos., *Bell. Jud.* vii. 6, 3.

In 1822 there was published in London a translation of an Armenian work called the *Memoirs of the Life of Artemi of Wagarshapat near Mt. Ararat in Armenia*. In this work (p. 99) we find as follows: "In the vicinity of the Ushakar are found two remarkable roots. With one called *toron* is made a red colour, which is used in Russia: and the Russian name of which is *Morena*: the other, *lashtak* or *manrakor* (mandrake), bears an exact resemblance to the human figure and is used by us medicinally. It grows pretty large. A dog is usually employed to draw it out of the ground; for which purpose the earth is first dug from about it, and a dog being fastened to it by a string, is made to pull till the whole of the root is extracted. The reason of this is, according to the current report, that if a man were to pull up this root he would infallibly die, either on the spot or in a very short time; and it is also said that when it is drawn out the moan of a human voice is always heard, but I cannot answer for the truth of these circumstances, as I never witnessed them, nor indeed do I myself believe them." Here we have the same folk-tradition tinged with incipient rationalism that we detected in the English herbals, and it is expressly said that the root extracted is the mandrake.

Here is a story which seems to suggest that the mandrake tradition was, till recently, extant in Cyprus itself, which for our purposes in the interpretation of Aphrodite, is its natural home.

"I entered into conversation," says Mr. Hume in one of his journals, "with a Russian who had studied medicine in Padua, and was now settled in Limosol in Cyprus. In giving me an account of the curiosities which he possessed he mentioned to me a root, in some degree resembling a human body, for at one end it was forked, and had a knob at the other which represented the head, with two sprouts immediately below it for the arms. This wonderful root he had dug up, he said, in the Holy Land, with no little risque, for the instant it appeared above ground it killed two dogs, and would have killed him also had he not been under the influence of magic."¹

Evidently the Russian doctor at Limosol was treating his guest to some of the fancies of that end of the Levant, and retailing mandragora stories as they were in circulation in times long anterior to his own. He may have even picked them up in Cyprus itself.

¹ Quoted in Walpole, *Memoirs of Travels in Turkey*.

We have now shown sufficiently the diffusion of the legend of the mandrake in the Eastern end of the Mediterranean ; its original home being certainly not far from Cyprus, the traditional centre of the Cult of Aphrodite. Down into the Middle Ages the herbalists tell us that the mandrake was imported, seeds, roots, and fruits, from that part of the world. For example, Bauhinus in his *History of Plants* (A.D. 1651) tells us that the flowers and fruits of the mandrake are produced in Italy, France, and Spain from seeds and roots imported from Crete and the Cyclades.¹

We come now to a curious alternative in the classification of the varieties of the mandrake by the early Greek magicians and doctors. A reference to Dioscorides² will show that a division into male and female was accompanied by another into black and white. The female was black and the male was white. The herbalists speculate on the reason of this division and suppose that the colour of the leaves or of the root is involved : what concerns us is not the reason for the colour assigned, but a certain consequence that ought to result from the description. If the colour has been accepted by the ancients as a part of the botanical summary, we ought to expect that, corresponding to the female mandrake, there would be a black Aphrodite : and not only so, but since we have assigned Cyprus as the home of the mandrake cult, at least for Greek religion, we ought to find the black Aphrodite in Cyprus. Now let us see what we actually do find. There are traces of the existence of a black Aphrodite in Thessaly, (among the Thesprotians) and again by a fountain in Arkadia near Mantinea : there is also a black Aphrodite in Corinth. In each case, the title of the goddess is *Melainis*. The title "the black lady" suggests a cult that is in some way connected with the world below.

Now, with regard to this cult, we are told by John Lydus³ that the rites which characterised it were transferred from Corinth to Cyprus, a statement which implies the existence of the black goddess in Cyprus, though we are not bound to accept the inference as to the direction in which the transfer was made. The passage referred to is as follows :—

¹ He professes (vol. iii. p. 617) to be quoting from Lobelius : "In Italiae provinciae Narbonae et Hispaniae hortis florem malaque maturan, semine aut radicibus ex Candia et Cycladibus insulis advectis, ut scribit Lobelius."

² *De. Mat. Med.* iv. 76.

³ *Joh. Lyd.*, 4, 45.

ἐν δὲ Κύπρῳ πρόβατον κωδίῳ ἐσκεπασμένον συνέθουν τῇ, Ἀφροδίτῃ· ὁ δὲ τρόπος τῆς ἱερατείας ἐντῇ Κύπρῳ ἀπὸ τῆς Κορίνθου παρῆλθέ ποτε. i.e. they used also to sacrifice to Aphrodite in Cyprus a sheep, wrapped in its fleece ; and the form of the Cypriote ritual must have been introduced at some time or other from Corinth.

Here we must make a correction to the text which talks of the sacrifice of a sheep wrapped in its fleece. It was the worshipper that was wrapped in the fleece, and who identified himself with his offering by throwing the fleece over his head and shoulders, or by kneeling upon it. We must read, then, ἐσκεπασμένοι for ἐσκεπασμένον.¹ It seems, then, that we have recovered the cult of the black Aphrodite in Cyprus, and a fragment of the associated ritual. We need not, then, hesitate to draw conclusion from the black mandrake to the black goddess. They are the same.

The result has an interesting corollary. It is well known that there exist in some Christian Churches statues of a black Virgin, endowed liberally by the Church with the power of working miracles. One in S.E. France is especially noteworthy. It has been common amongst archæologists to assume that we have here a survival of the miracle-working images of Isis, converted to Christian use, as in many similar cases. It appears, however, from our investigation, that there is no need to go to Egypt for the required sanctity ; it may very well have been current in the local worship of Aphrodite.²

If we may judge by the comparison between the little chapel of the Black Lady at Corinth as compared with the general devotion to her white sister, the black Aphrodite is not a cult figure of any prominence : she came into existence to personify one aspect of a magical plant, and would easily become a witch of the deadlier kind, and consort with Hekaté or Medea in her darker moods. In tracing her to Cyprus and possibly to Dodona (for the Thesprotian Cult probably derives from thence) we do not mean to suggest that either in Cyprus or in Dodona the white Aphrodite was not overwhelmingly the predominant one. It is, perhaps, this darker side of the cult which

¹ I see that the proposed correction had already been suggested by Robertson Smith, and wrongly rejected by Mr. A. B. Cook. See his paper on *Animal Worship in the Mycenaean Age* in J.H.S. xiv. 106 and n. 145.

² For the reference to local cults, take Pausanias, 9, 27, 4 ; 8, 6, 2, and 2, 2, 4 ; Athenaeus, 13, 588.

was responsible for the goddess being regarded in some quarters as a *ψυχοπόμπος*, a guide of souls to the other world.

As soon as we have satisfied ourselves that Aphrodite was originally a witch, and not a courtesan, we are almost obliged to infer that, like the other witch-goddesses, she had a garden of her own, in which grew her mandrake and other rarities and specialities.

It is not difficult to detect the literary reference to such gardens, though they usually appear as mere pleasure-gardens of a disreputable type. It may, however, be seen that this is not the whole of the story. For instance, Ovid tells us that the apples which beguiled Atalanta in her race, were gathered by Aphrodite herself from her own garden at Tamassos in Cyprus :—

Est ager, indigenae Tamassorum nomine dicunt,
Telluris Cypriae pars optima, quam mihi prisci
Sacravere senes, templisque accedere dotem
Hanc jussere meis; medio nitet arbor in arvo,
Fulva comam, fulvo ramis crepitantibus auro,
Hinc tria forte mea veniens decerpta ferebam
Aurea poma manu :

Ovid. *Met.* x. 644-650.

Here it is clear that the apples grew in a sacred enclosure, and were plucked golden from a golden bough. The reference to the dotation from ancient time reminds one of the “ancient garden of Apollo”. If this fruit belongs to the earlier ritual in the old-time garden, it ought to be the mandrake-apple that was plucked : and then it would be love-magic and not mere covetousness that caused Atalanta to surrender the race to Hippomenes. Ovid tells us plainly that she was in love with him.

Now let us see how the mandrake story has coloured the medicine and religion of Northern and Western Europe. We shall show first that amongst our Teutonic ancestors it was the subject of much wizardry, and that it had the same name as the witch who operated with it. Next we shall go on to show that the legend developed on French soil in such a way as to produce a belief in a fairy-form, female in character, answering to Aphrodite at the other end of the evolutionary scale, and again named after the plant. We take these points in order, they are of great importance, because of the difficulty which some people will feel in accepting the identification of the primitive plant with the archaic divinity : the difficulty is a real one : we may have to admit

the original equivalence of Apollo and the apple, and we certainly cannot explain the name of the apple as a by-product from the name of the god: but is it as evident that we can equate Artemis the woman's doctor with artemisia the woman's medicine? May not the latter be a true adjective to the former? And why should we assume an equivalence between Aphrodite and mandragora which would almost require us to explain the former as a linguistic representation of the latter? These difficulties have been, in part, met already, as for example by the Hesychian equation between Aphrodite and the mandrake, and by the parallelism between the bearded mandrake and the bearded Venus of Cyprus: if, however, we can show that in Germany the witch and the plant have the same name, and that in France, after the original witch had disappeared from the legend, a female fairy was produced, it will be clear that the equivalence of the plant with the potency that controls it lies in the very nature of the case.

Let us then take up the German evidence. Bauhinus in his *Historia Plantarum* already cited, will tell us that amongst the Germans the plant is called *Alraun Maenlein*, but amongst the Belgians, *Mandragora Manneken*; amongst the Italians, *Mandragora Maschio*; amongst the French, *Mandragora* or *Mandegloire*. The names are very suggestive; we have before us the belief that there was a mannikin in the root, that mandrake was in two kinds, male and female, and that in French by an easy linguistic perversion, it came to be called *Hand of Glory*, of which more presently.

In German, then, it was known as *alraun* and this is one of the names of the Teutonic witches, or, if we prefer it, goddesses. An *alruna*-maiden is a witch who operates with *alraun*: she was the plant in the first instance, of necessity she remains closely connected with it.¹

There is no more powerful German magic than the *alraun*: it was a birth-helping medicine, amongst other potencies; for instance, in some lines of *Frauenlob*,² we are told as follows:—

¹ We may take the statement of the equivalence of the names of the witch and the medicine from Ducange: "Ita vocavere Gothi veteresque Germani magas suas: sed et *alrunae* nomen inditum fuisse mandragorae radicibus, quod praestantis usus in arte magica superstitionis esse videretur" (Loccenius in *Antiq. Sue. Goth.*). "Hodie etiam a Germanis *alrunen* magas vocare constat."

² Ed. Ettmüller, *minneleich* 15, p. 26.

Sit, wip, der süeze ersüezen vürbaz reichet,
 ouch, alsam der alrünen glanz
 der berendigen vrouwen schranz,
 berliche bürde weichet,

upon which Ettmüller remarks that "people seem to have believed that mandragora facilitated parturition. Perhaps it was the potency of the human *alrune* (the witch, the enchantress) that had passed over with the witch to the plant." The observation is interesting, though the transfer of name and potency was probably in the opposite direction. It shows that the mandrake had its cult in Germany where it even discharged some of the functions of the artemisia, as if Aphrodite had taken over the duties of Artemis and acted as her *locum tenens*. The same thing comes out in a passage from Lonicer's *Krauterbuch* (A.D. 1582)¹: "Alraun rinder dienet zu augen- arzneyen. Dieser rinder drey heller gewicht schwer für den frawen gemächt (sc. genitalia) gehalten, bringet ihnen ihre zeit, treibet aus die todte geburt." The language is decidedly Artemisian.

Grimm tells us further that a man who had *alraun* about him could change his form from childhood to age, or conversely at his pleasure. Still more remarkable is the statement that the mandrake had to be dressed like a doll, and fed twice a day. We shall refer to this again, as it is important for the development of the image worship associated with the inherent deity of the plant: dolls may easily become gods, and of course, conversely. There can be no doubt as to the belief in the human form of the mandrake when that belief expresses itself in the concrete forms of a cult requiring food and raiment.

A few remarks may further be made with regard to the property of rejuvenescence attributed above to the mandrake, accompanied by a converse power in the case of young persons. It is precisely this power (interpreted of course sexually) that is attributed to Aphrodite, and furnishes one of her titles. For instance, she is called *Ambo- logēra*, the Postponer of Old Age: a term which has its perfect explanation in a passage of Plutarch:—

καὶ ἡμᾶς οὐπω παντάπασιν ἡ Ἀφροδίτη πέφευγεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 προσευχόμεθα δήπουθεν, λέγοντες ἐν τοῖς τῶν θεῶν ὕμνοις·

Ἀνάβαλε ἄνω τὸ γῆρας

ὦ καλὰ Ἀφροδίτη.

—Plut., *Sympos.* 3, 6, 4.

¹ P. 106. Quoted by Grimm, *Myth.* iv. 1673 (Eng. tr.).

It appears that a prayer for the adjournment of old age may have been actually incorporated in the ritual of the goddess. With this, we may take another petition addressed to the goddess in an epigram of Martial :—

Supplex ille rogat, pro se miserisque duobus,
Hunc juvenem facias, hunc, Cytherea, virum :

—Mart. II, 81, 5.

which will help us to understand the kind of help desired at the opposite end of the sexual scale.

This power of sexual modification is responsible for the belief of the middle ages that the man who had the mandrake could be man or child just as he would : “swenne er wil sô ist er ein kindelin, swenne er wil sô mâc er alt sîn ” (Grimm, *ut supra*).

Now let us come to the French traditions. We have the belief that the “hand-of-glory” can be dug up under a gibbet, both in England and France. This “hand-of-glory” is the *main de gloire* evolved linguistically out of *Mandragore*. We have already explained that for mandrake to be effective it must be dugged from under the gallows on which an innocent victim had been hanged : and we pointed out the same folk-tradition in Medea’s gathering of the plant that had been fed with the ichor of the wronged and suffering Prometheus. The *main de gloire* became on the one side, an actual hand to be dug out, and on the other side it evolved into a French fairy named *Magloire*, who could presumably do all that the mandrake was expected to do : *Magloire* was a French *alruna*-maiden, a resuscitated Aphrodite. The importance of this for the equation of the mandragora and the goddess is obvious.

Now for some bits of evidence.

Chéruef in his *Dictionnaire Historique des Institutions Mœurs, et Coûtumes de la France* (A.D. 1855, ii. 726) tells us that mandragora is a plant to which the peasants in some of the provinces attribute a marvellous virtue. He then quotes from the *Journal d’un bourgeois de Paris* in the fifteenth century with regard to the mandrake : “que maintes sottes gens gardaient et avaient si grand foi en cette ordure, que pour vrai ils croyaient fermement que tant comme ils l’avaient, pourvu qu’il fut en beaux drapeaux de soie ou de lin enveloppé, jamais ils ne seraient pauvres ”.

Here again we have the mandrake dressed up (remember that in

the original Aphrodite Cult the goddess was always draped), and this well-dressed mandrake would make one rich, had in fact the key to hidden treasures. Chérue! goes on to show that this belief lasted into the nineteenth century, and quotes an extraordinary story from St. Palaye of a conversation he had with a peasant as to the existence of the *main de gloire* at the foot of a mistletoe-bearing oak! The *main de gloire* or *mandrake* was for this peasant a kind of mole at the root of the tree, which had to be regularly fed, and would always make you rich by returning twice as much as you spent upon it. But woe to the man who neglected to supply the mandrake with its proper nutriment! The plant had become an animal, but was still parlous stuff to deal with. For convenience of reference we transcribe the description: "Il y a longtemps qu'il règne en France une superstition presque générale au sujet de *Mandrages*: il en reste encore quelque chose parmi les paysans. Comme je demandais un jour à un paysan un gui de chêne, il me conta qu'on disait qu'au pied des chênes qui portent du gui, il y avait une main de gloire (c'est à dire en leur langage une mandragore), qu'elle était aussi avant dans la terre que le gui était élevé sur l'arbre; que c'était une espèce de taupe; que celui qui la trouve était obligé de lui donner de quoi la nourrir, soit du pain, de la viande, ou toute autre chose; et que ce qu'il lui avait donné une fois il était obligé de lui donner tous les jours et dans la même quantité, sans quoi elle faisait mourir ceux qui y manquaient. Deux hommes de sons pays qu'il me nomma en étaient morts, disait-il; mais en récompense cette main de gloire rendait au double le lendemain ce qu'on lui avait donné la veille. Si elle avait reçu aujourd'hui pour un écu de nourriture celui que le lui avait donné en trouvait deux le lendemain, et ainsi de toute autre chose: tel paysan qu'il me nomma encore et qui était devenu fort riche, avait trouve à ce qu'on croyait, ajouta-t-il, une de ces mains-de-gloire."¹

¹ It is amusing to see the way in which the "Hand of Glory" is worked up in the poetry of the Ingoldsby Legends, and with what fidelity to tradition, excepting only that the *main de gloire* is taken from the actual murderer on the gibbet and not dug up from beneath it. The author produces the following spell:—

Now open lock
To the Dead Man's knock!
Fly bolt and bar and band!
Nor move nor swerve,
Joint, muscle, or nerve,

I have not yet succeeded in determining the meaning of the relation between the mandrake and the mistletoe-bearing oak. There is something here waiting to be unravelled. We have also to find out how the oak became a gibbet.¹ The legend of the mandrake appears to be crossed at certain points by that of the mugwort : both of them have in common with the springwort (whatever that was) the power of enriching their possessors. The mandrake, like the other famous plants, was magic as well as medicine.

In spite of the crossing of cults to which we have referred, the main point remains clear ; viz. : that mandragora is magic rather than medicine ; and that it is peculiarly a love-magic. It is as old as the Book of Genesis, whatever may be the date to which that book of Hebrew traditions is ultimately assigned. It has lasted as a love-medicine to our own times. As Isaac Vossius said in the seventeenth century,

“Mandragorae putatur vis inesse amorem conciliandi”.²

The superstition referred to was noticed by Sibthorp to prevail amongst the young Athenians, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, who kept pieces of mandrake root about their persons in little bags for amatory reasons.³

Our next step is to ask whether the apple of Love turns up in the figured representations of Aphrodite, in the same way as we showed the apple to occur in coins representing Apollo, and elsewhere in connection with the god. One recalls at once that some of the most famous statues of Aphrodite represent her with an apple in her hand. The Venus of Melos, for example ; or the famous statue of the sculptor Kanachos in Sikyon of which Pausanias says that it was made of gold and ivory and that the hands held, one a poppy and *the other an apple*. Here the selected fruit and flower are

At the spell of the Dead Man's hand !
Sleep all who sleep ! Wake all who wake !
But be as the Dead for the Dead Man's sake !

This is not bad. The hand of glory operates on the one hand as a springwort, and on the other as the soporific anæsthetic mandragora.

¹ We might compare the hanging of victims (or, at least, their heads) upon a sacred oak. See A. B. Cook, *European Sky-god*, p. 397.

² Vossius, *De. idol.* lib. v.

³ “Radicis frustula, in sacculis gesta, pro amuleto amatorio hodie, apud juvenes Atticos, in usu sunt” [Sibthorp, *Flora Graeca* (A.D. 1819), iii. 16].

suggestive, for the mandragora is a sort of combination of poppy and apple, from the old Greek medical point of view. The apple inherits its magical power, the poppy its soporific value.

Then we have "a terra-cotta figure from Corinth, of which both hands are held against the breast, with a dove in the right hand, *an apple in the left*,"¹ or we might refer to "the bronze in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, representing her as holding the hem of her robe in the left hand, and *an apple in the right*, and wearing a flower-wrought crown."² Then there is the well-known statue called the Venus Genetrix in the Louvre, reproducing some religious image of the divinity of vegetation, as we may believe that the hand with



VENUS, WITH SCEPTRE AND APPLE
(From copper coin of imperial date in
British Museum. From Aphrodisias
in Caria)



VENUS GENETRIX

(From a silver denarius of Sabina, the
wife of Hadrian, in the collection of
Mr. A. B. Cook)

the apple is a correct restoration.³ Other artistic representations may be quoted, but these will suffice. It appears that Aphrodite, then, resembles Apollo in one of her leading cult symbols, the apple. Not only so, but she appears to have occasionally taken a title from the symbol, parallel to *Apollo Maleates*, for in a coin of Magnesia on the Maeander she appears as *Ἀφροδίτη Μηλεία*, and this is the apple-Aphrodite and not the Aphrodite of Melos.⁴

How, then, are we to explain this concurrence in cult symbol between Apollo and Aphrodite? We know the meaning of Apollo's apple; it has been shown to be the sacred tree which is Apollo's self: it is, however, impossible that this can be true of Aphrodite; she is not the apple-tree nor the mistletoe. The explan-

¹ Farnell, *Cults*, ii. 673.

² *Ibid.* 692.

³ *Ibid.* The coin representing Venus with sceptre and apple is a copper coin of imperial date, in the British Museum, from Aphrodisias in Caria. The Venus Genetrix coin is a silver denarius of Sabina the wife of Hadrian, in the Collection of Mr. A. B. Cook.

⁴ See *Zeit. f. Num.* 1885, t. 12, p. 318, pl. 13^c.

ation is that her apple is a substitute for the mandrake-apple ; she is, as Hesychius explains, the “ Lady of the Mandrake ” ; and when we put this apple back into her hand, well ! that is her way of telling us her past history ! The two apples, the Apolline and the Aphrodisian are respectively the oracular apple and the love-apple, and the apple, as a symbol of love, is derived from the earlier fruit. The oracular apple will survive in folk-lore as a means of determining, by its rind or its pips, what one’s luck in love is like to be.

Now let us see whether we can find any evidence for the substitution of the Apolline-apple for the original love-apple in the Aphrodite Cult. How are we to transfer the symbolic fruit from Delphi or Delos to Cyprus ? The answer is as follows :—

There was a mythical story current preserved to us by Servius, or one of his interpolators, in his commentary on Vergil, according to which a certain young man, *named Melos*, went from Delos to Cyprus, in the days of King Cinyras, the father of Adonis : he became bosom friend of Adonis and married a young Cypriote lady, a priestess of Aphrodite. After the death of Adonis, the heart-broken Melos and his companion hanged themselves upon a tree. Aphrodite, in pity, turned Melos into an apple-tree, which was called Melon in memory of the tragic event, and his partner into a dove. In this way, then, the apple of Delos may be said to have been consecrated in the shrine of Adonis. Here is the very passage of Servius, from which mythological tradition it is possible to extract some further evidences of the way in which religious explanations presented themselves to the mind of an educated Greek.

Serv. in Verg. *eccl.* viii. 37, *roscida mala* :—

Matutini roris humore perfusa. (Sane unde Melus Graece traxerit nomen, fabula talis est : Melus quidam in Delo insula ortus, relictâ patria fugit ad insulam Cyprum, in qua eo tempore Cinyras regnabat, habens filium Adonem : hic Melum sociatum Adoni filio iussit esse, cumque eum videret esse indolis bonae, propinquam suam dicatam et ipsam Veneri, quae Pelia dicebatur, Melo coniunxit : ex quibus nascitur Melus, quem propterea quod Venus Adonis amore teneretur, tanquam amati filium inter aras praecipit nutriri. Sed postquam Adonis apri ictu extinctus est, senex Melus cum dolorem mortis Adonis ferre non posset, laqueo se ad arborem suspendens vitam finit, ex cuius nomine Melus appellatus est. Pelia autem coniux eius in eo arbore se adpendens necata est. Venus misericordia eorum mortis ducta, Adoni luctum continuum praestitit. Melum in pomum sui nominis vertit, Peliam coniugem eius in columbam mutavit : Melum autem puerum,

qui de Cinyrae genere solus supererat, cum adultum vidisset collecta manu redire ad Delum praecepit; qui cum ad insulam pervenisset, et rerum esset ibi potitus, Melon condidit civitatem: et cum primus oves tonderi, et vestem de lanis fieri instituisset, meruit ut eius nomine oves *μῆλα* appellentur.)

Thus far Servius, or his interpolator Daniel. It is interesting to see the attempt to connect *apples* with *sheep* in Greek. Now let us return to Aphrodite whom we have justified in apple-stealing from Apollo.

Our next enquiry should be as to the provenience of the mandragora: how did it come into Greek magic or medicine? Is it a home product, or has it been brought from abroad? Or was it first brought from abroad and then discovered at home? And did its discovery result in the establishment of a garden of Aphrodite, with such plants as were likely to further her particular ends? When we examine the herbals we do not get much light on these questions, though it is clear we are dealing with a continuous tradition of long standing. Gerarde, for example, simply tells us¹ that “mandrake groweth in hot Regions, in woods and mountaines, in Mount Garganus in Apulia, and such like places. We have them onely planted in gardens, and are not elsewhere to be found in England.” Upon which Parkinson enlarges as follows: ² “They grow in woods and shadowy places, and the female on river-sides in diverse countries, beyond the Alpes, but not on this side naturally, as in Graecia, the *Isles of Candy*, and others in the *Mediterranean Sea*, Italy also and Spain: with us they are nursed up as rarities in gardens”.

Now wherever Parkinson took his information from, whether from the actual trading botanists of his day, or from early writers, does not so much matter. The significant thing is that the mandrake is found *in the Greek islands*. That puts a new light on Aphrodite's migrations, and her cult centres in Cyprus and Cythera. The natural inference is that the plant was brought down the Levant by Phoenician traders. Aphrodite is the imported mandragora of early times, and has undergone divinisation in the same way as Apollo and Artemis.

As soon as Aphrodite has shed her transformation raiment, and become a plant again, we see the meaning of the magic cestus which she used to wear, with which she did witchcraft on Olympus and

¹ p. 352.

² *Theatr. Botan.* p. 344.

elsewhere. It is the belt of mandrake roots which the women of ancient times wore next their skin, for reasons detailed above.

Its magic virtue is clear from the language of Homer. It was witchcraft and made its wearer, for the time of wearing, into a witch. Hence Hera begs its use that she may operate on Zeus with more than normal charms : and it is interesting that in describing the loan of the cestus Homer lets us see, behind his designedly obscure language, a girdle containing a number of plants used as philtres : the passage runs as follows in a translation :—

Give me the loveliness and power to charm
Whereby thou reign'st o'er gods and men supreme.

Then Venus spoke and from her bosom loosed
Her broidered Cestus, wrought with every charm
To win the heart ; there Love, there young Desire,
There fond Discourse, and there Persuasion dwelt.

—Iliad, 14, 197, tr. Derby.

These potencies were, we suspect, originally vegetables, and the chief of them was the mandrake. Lucian, in his *Dialogues of the Gods*, makes Athene roundly charge Aphrodite with witchcraft, and Athene and Hera refuse to take part in the contest for Beauty, unless Aphrodite takes off that thing. How could a young man give a fair verdict, and it had to be a man's verdict, if one of the competitors was mandraked and talismaned, so as to incapacitate his judgment in advance ! Under such circumstances we should all have gone wrong, even if a thousand Ænones had called from the bush and told us to give the apple to Athene.

Now comes the most difficult problem of all, the question of the name. Is there anything that philology can confidently say on the subject ? Or have we had so many bad guesses that there is no prospect of doing anything more than add one to the number of those that already exist ? The one thing that seems clear is that the name is not Greek ; and from this it follows as, at all events, a reasonable hypothesis, in view of the traditional connection of Aphrodite with Cyprus, that the name is Semitic and probably Phœnician. What would the goddess be likely to be called if she were really my lady Mandragora ? The Hebrew name is *Dudaim* for the mandrakes found in the field, and it is matter of nearly general agreement that this has to do with a root that means " Love ". Thus " David " is

said to mean "Beloved," and Solomon is actually called Jedid-Jah or "Beloved of Jahveh," the name being supposed by some to answer to a primitive form *Dodo*. The name of the mandrake *Dudai* would be an adjectival form belonging to this root; put the word for fruit before it and we have *pridudai* = פרי דודאי. It will be recognised that we have here something that might be the ancestor to the Greek A-phrodite. Now how would this be expressed in Phœnician? Fruit would be פֶּר = *phar*, and if we may judge by the analogy of the forms David (Dōd) and Dido, we might expect something like *phar-didi*, from which it is not a long step to the Greek spelling. Ἀφροδίτη would, to reach its primitive form, lose a prefixed vowel and change its last consonant from *t* to *d*, so as to read Φροδίδη. Now it is curious that there is some sign of wavering in the spelling of the name on early Greek vases. We find, for example, *Aphro-tide*. It may be an accidental permutation but it arouses suspicion. The form *Aphrodide* I have not found.

According to this suggestion, Aphrodite is simply love-apple, Græcised out of a primitive Semitic (Phœnician) form.

I see that this derivation has been in part anticipated, and that a number of German scholars have suggested that the first part of the goddess' name is connected with the root פֶּרֶה (fruit). The idea which they thus reach is that of fruitfulness, a very proper idea to be connected with the more wholesome aspects of human love. It is, however, an insufficient explanation. There must be some other idea involved than that of fruit or fruitfulness. The mandrake cannot be fruit without some other quality to distinguish it from other fruits; it might possibly be fruitfulness in the abstract, if every one who used it had that idea before his mind. It is, however, doubtful if this could be maintained. It would suit the case of Rachel in the Book of Genesis, but not the devotees at Amathus or Paphos.

Moreover, we have an important analogy, which suggests that the name of the goddess has something to do with evil magic, as well as good magic.

The name of the Roman goddess Venus is one of the conundrums of Philology. It should, probably, be connected with the Latin *venenum* (poison) in the form *venesnum*, in which case Venus is simply the witch-medicine for love, perhaps the very same witch-medicine that was used further east: her name is not Love but

Philtre.¹ Analogy, then, suggests something more than “fruitfulness” as the underlying meaning of Aphrodite. Those who suspected the Semitic root to be פרה did not carry their enquiry far enough.²

In this connection we might almost have divined a herbal element in the Cult of Aphrodite from the language of Sappho. Mr. A. B. Cook draws my attention to the opening line of the first fragment of Sappho, where Aphrodite is addressed as

ποικιλόθρον', ἀθάνατ' Ἀφροδίτα,

and where some controversy, or, at least, divergence of interpretation, has arisen over the meaning of ποικιλόθρονος.

Enmann, in his work on *Cyprus and the Origin of the Cult of Aphrodite* makes the word to mean that the goddess is seated on the gay sky of Night, she the golden one or the one that dwells in a golden house.³

Walter Headlam, in his new book of translations, takes the word in the same sense. On the other hand, and with greater probability, Wüstemann⁴ took the word to be derived from θρόνα ποικίλα, in

¹ Giles, *Manual of Comp. Phil.*, § 223; “venenum, literally ‘love-potion’ for uenes-no-m”.

² Those who wish to follow the matter up may like to have the following references:—

Tümpel, *Ares and Aphrodite*, p. 680. (*Supplement-band XI der Jahrbücher für classische Philologie*.) Ἀφροδίτη, ein Wort, dessen Semitischen Ursprung schon Völcker (*Rhein. Mus.*, 1883, *Ausländische Götterculte bei Homer*); Scheiffele (*Pauly, Real. Enc. art. Venus*) und Schwenck (*Myth.* iv. 211, 1846) vertheidigt haben, unter Zurückführung auf die Wurzel פרה mit der Bedeutung der Fruchtbarkeit, und mit Recht.

Tümpel adds in a note an alternative solution as follows:—

Sowie Röth (*Geschichte der Philosophie*, i. 252 note) und Preller (*Gr. Myth.* 1², 263), unter Berufung auf das Assyrische פִּרְיָא (phönisch mit Artikel) אִפְרִיָּא “die Taube,” was vielleicht vorzuziehen wäre, wenn nicht eine Einführung der zahmen weissen Taube der Semiramis in der vorasiatischen Culten der Natur-göttin vor 600 a chr. selbst unwahrscheinlich wäre (Hehn, *Culturpfl.*², 296 f.).

I have not verified these references of Tümpel. It appears to me that the idea of “fruit” or “fruitfulness” is to be understood, as explained above as *Fruit of Love*, or *Love-apple*.

³ Enmann, *Kypros und der Ursprung des Aphroditekultus* in *Mem. de l'Académie Imp. des Sciences de S. Pétersbourg*, vii^c serie, tom. xxxiv. No. 13, p. 77.

⁴ *Rhein. Mus.*, xxiii. 238.

which case *θρόνα* means "gay flowers" or "magic herbs," and the adjective *ποικιλόθρονος* has nothing to do with "a throne": we may refer to the use of *ποικίλα θρόνα* ("quaint enamelled flowers") in Homer (Il. 22, 441) for the original of the Sapphic adjective; but that *θρόνα* may be taken in the sense of "Magic herbs" appears from Theocritos,¹ *τά θρόνα ταῦθ' ὑπόμαξον*, and Nikander.²

From this point of view, Aphrodite *ποικιλόθρονος* is very nearly the same as Aphrodite *Ἀνθεια*: only the flowers have a medical intention, a Medean quality.

It is admitted that this is somewhat tentative and uncertain; but it is the best solution that has yet presented itself to my mind. As to the meaning of mandragora, I have nothing to add to the attempts that have been made at its explanation.

To sum up, Aphrodite is a personification of the mandrake or love-apple. She holds this in her hand in the form of fruit, and wears it round her waist, or perhaps as an armlet, in the form of a girdle in which the root of the plant is entwined. Whether she had a herb-garden in which the plant was cherished, along with other similar stimulating vegetables, is doubtful; there was at Athens, near the Ilissus, a sanctuary of Aphrodite *ἐν κήποις*, but what this means is quite uncertain. Perhaps it was only a municipal name, say "the park". The plant appears to have come down the Levant, in the first instance, probably from Cyprus. As Cyprus is in ancient times a Phœnician island, it is possible that the name of the goddess may be a transfer of a Phœnician name for love-apple. The apple which the goddess holds in her hand in certain great works of art, is a substitute for the primitive apple-of-love.

¹ Idyll. 2, 59.

² Ther. 493, 936.

NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL IDEALS IN THE ENGLISH POETS.¹

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“**P**OETRY,” said Shelley, “is the expression of the best and happiest moments of the happiest and best minds.” “Every man,” said the great French critic Sainte-Beuve, “has a sleeping poet in his breast.” These two sayings may serve to justify, if it need justification, the recourse to the poets at a time of supreme national stress. The poets are even through their poetry akin to us, and the greatest poets are of all the most deeply akin. They waken something in us which habitually sleeps, and this something we recognize, the more surely the greater the poet, as the best in us, something which draws us by a sudden magic out of our common egoisms and our common attachments, and makes us for the time citizens of a realm which is at once real and ideal ; the very world which we inhabit, but seen in the light of larger vision and loftier purpose. No doubt, poetry is a house with many mansions, and some of these are idyllic pleasaunces where you rather learn to forget the real world than to see it more clearly ; where dreaming eyes look out from magic casements upon faery lands, and idle singers pipe at ease of an empty day. But no great poet remains permanently in these idyllic bowers. You find him sooner or later in the great hall, vividly alive to all that goes on there, to high counsel and heroic emprise, to the memorials of the great past which hang on the walls, the symbolic fire that burns on the hearth. Every country which has given birth to a great poet has a voice in which some national aspiration, or some national need, has become articulate.

But no nation has a richer treasure of great poets who reflect, sustain, and reanimate its deeper self, than our own country.

¹ A Lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on 4 January, 1916.

We may distinguish three types of national ideal. In a complete and mature patriotism they will all be found ; but, in patriotism as it has commonly been, and still for the most part is, one or other falls short. There is first, the " simple " patriotism of the warrior fighting and dying for his native land, and thinking that true glory. The cry of this patriotism is heard in the first beginnings of all national history, and is heard to the end. It was never more alive than it is in Europe to-day. But as a nation grows in strength and complexity, new problems emerge, for which this primitive patriotic passion offers no solution : problems of internal right, the struggle of sovereign and subjects, of privileged orders and the people, of rich and poor ; it becomes evident that a nation secure from without may be shattered from within, and then perhaps for the first time fall an easy prey to an external foe. Thus arise more complex ideals of national well-being, which may lead men equally devoted to their country along different, even opposite paths ; whole-hearted patriots are found on both sides in every civil war, as well as in the normal antagonisms of parties. But these ideals may still ignore everything outside the nation ; they may be national in the narrow sense of those who regard the well-being of other nations only as it contributes to the power, wealth, or glory of their own ; and it is possible, as we see in Germany to-day, for an ideal of national life to be extraordinarily developed in respect of its own internal organization, and yet on a very low plane in regard to the well-being of other nations. There remains then a third phase of national ideal, which regards the nation as fulfilling its function only when it acts as a member of the community of Man. This third phase, even from a strictly " national " point of view, marks an advance. For just as a man who wrongs his fellow-citizens will be apt to wrong his family, if only by loading them with privileges or luxuries beyond their due, so a nation which is unjust to other nations will be also deeply unjust to itself, if only by stimulating beyond measure those sides of its life, those elements of its strength, which serve only for aggression and expanse.

If we look at the history of these three types of national ideal we find that, while they emerge in different phases of national life, the earlier as a rule persist side by side with the later, like the labourers in the vineyard, and, as there, the latest comer is not the least deserving, though as yet he is apt to receive the least reward. Thus the ele-

mentary love of country and readiness to die for it is as strong to-day as in the English country-folks who fought by East Anglian river sides with Danish pirates. The ideals of social justice and order hardly emerge in England before the 14th century ; their clash and clamour is still about us on every side to-day. While the ideal of international right, which is to a fully developed nation what the ideal of humanity is to a high-bred man, first became clear and resonant in the age of the French Revolution, and in spite of the appalling rebuff which it has experienced in the present crisis, that ideal is steadily and quietly rooting itself in the best mind of the civilized world.

What, then, has been the part of the poets in relation to these three types of ideal ?

I.

Few words are needed here of the elementary but sublime patriotism of the field. War, like Love, touches man where he is greatest and where he is least ; the fire and the clay, the hero and the brute. It is the glory of poetry that in its handling of this familiar matter, it helps to liberate us from the obsession of the brute and the clay, and make us one with the hero and the flame. We all of us, as citizens and newspapers readers, treat it as axiomatic : that success is better than failure, and coming back from the battle infinitely preferable to falling in it. Yet when Browning tells us that "achievement lacks a gracious somewhat" ; or when Wordsworth declares that action is a temporary and limited thing, "the motion of a muscle this way or that," while suffering "opens gracious avenues to infinity" ; or when Rupert Brooke, in his noble sonnet, declares that in the peril of death lies the supreme safety,—we thrill with an involuntary assent which, in spite of the protests of our cool reason, obstinately persists. And whether this be every one's experience or not, the poets themselves involuntarily confirm it by the poetic sterility of sheer triumph. The pæan is a poor creature compared with tragedy. Even Pindar's songs of triumph for the winners of chariot races are themselves a kind of triumph over reluctant material. The noblest battle-poetry in Old English is the story, nearly 1000 years old, of one of the rare occasions on which Englishmen have been overpowered by an invading army on their own soil. All fall save two ; but their leader before the fight has flung his heroic defiance at the Danish pirates : "Tell

your lord, that here stands unblenching, a chieftain with his men, who mean to defend this native ground, this fatherland ". Or compare the crude animal joy of Laurence Minot, as he hitches into rhyme the smashed limbs and burnt cities of the French or the Scots, and the glow of unquenchable faith with which John Barbour a little later tells the story of the homeless wanderings of Robert Bruce. In most great battle-poetry we are made to feel either the heroic stand against great odds, as in Drayton's song of Agincourt, and Tennyson's "The Revenge"; or else the pathetic sublimity of ruin, as in Shakespeare's wonderful lines on Coriolanus :—

Death, that dark sprite, in's nervy arm doth lie,
Which being advanced declines, and then men die.

His "Henry V." is no doubt a dramatic song of triumph for a great national success. But it is not Henry's success which most endears him to his creator; the greatest moments of the play are those in which he shows us the tragic forecast of doom based upon his father's wrong, and the personal magnetism which welded his army together as one man and, more than his generalship, accounted for the victory. Drayton had painted him truculently careless of his title to the crown :—

His lion's courage stands not to inquire
Which way old Harry came by it. . . .
What's that to him? He hath the garland now. . . .

That is not Shakespeare's notion of heroism; his Henry prays to God, before Agincourt, to remember his father's guilt on some other day. And his mastery of men is based not upon terror, terrible though he can be, but upon comradeship and character :—

A largess universal, like the sun,
His genial eye doth shed on every one,
Thawing cold fear, that mean and gentle all,
Behold, as may unworthiness define,
A little touch of Harry in the night.

In that very drama of "Coriolanus" which sounds the sublimest note of Shakespeare's war poetry, the climax of greatness is reached not in those pictures of the irresistible arm, leaving death and tears in its path, but in his final surrender of his purposed vengeance upon Rome at the impassioned appeal of his mother and wife,—a surrender which, he knows, will cost his life :—

O mother, mother !
 What have you done ? Behold, the heavens do ope,
 The gods look down, and this unnatural scene
 They laugh at. O my mother, mother ! O !
 You have won a happy victory for Rome ;
 But for your son, believe it, O believe it,
 Most dangerously you have with him prevailed,
 If not most mortal to him. But, let it come.

So, if we turn to a later time, a poet like Campbell made great heroic songs of the " Battle of the Baltic," and the irresistible floating bulwarks of Britannia. But for the greatest war poetry of that world-crisis we have to turn to Wordsworth's sonnets. And what stirs him to poetry is not Trafalgar or Waterloo, of them he has not a word ; but the colossal disasters of Jena and Austerlitz, the overthrow of Venice and of Switzerland, and the ruin of leaders of forlorn hopes, like Schill, and Palafox, and Toussaint Louverture. The wonderful sonnet to this last great ruined chieftain gathers up in its last lines,—some of the sublimest in English poetry,—that instinctive faith, which we can neither justify nor get rid of, that heroism, even when it utterly fails, and the more when it utterly fails, does not perish, but has its part in the spiritual atmosphere in which our lives are passed and by which they are silently moulded, replenished, and inspired :—

Most miserable chieftain ! Yet do thou
 Wear rather in thy bonds a cheerful brow !
 Though fallen thyself, never to rise again,
 Live and take comfort ! Earth and air and skies,
 There's not a breathing of the common wind
 That will forget thee. Thou hast great allies ;
 Thy friends are exultations, agonies,
 And Love, and Man's unconquerable mind.

II.

We have glanced at two Shakesperean types of military valour. The gulf which separates Henry and Coriolanus in their action upon the State,—the one affecting it as cement, the other as dynamite,—may help our transition to the second type of national ideal, that rooted in the need for inner cohesion and order. Doubtless this need was first brought home by the urgency of the more primitive need of defence. In Germany to-day, where the militarism of the primitive tribe has survived into an age of advanced industrial and scientific culture, we see child life and the upbringing of children watched over,

on the whole to its great advantage, largely with a view to the provision of fighting material. The older civilization of England has outgrown the motive without approaching the results. And, on the whole, the ideas and ideals which emerge most distinctly in the long struggling evolution of the English polity, have not been consciously adopted or systematically applied, have not been framed, like Plato's, in academic groves, but have been struck out in the thrust and parry conflicts and the give and take settlements of centuries of eager and vivid political life ; and if we look for logical symmetry in their application we soon recognize that the struggles out of which they emerged have left them scarred and chipped, riddled with anomalies and exceptions.

Two such ideals, in particular, have come down to us, as trophies of our long political history, and deeply dyed with its temper—*law* and *liberty*. The fact that we couple them is characteristic of the shape these seeming opposites have assumed in our hands : we clearly regard law not as a force which interferes with our liberty, but as one which prevents other people from interfering with it. Let us now ask what the poets have done to illuminate or drive them home. Law, to begin with, is not a matter obviously fruitful for poetry ; for poetry is commonly a surging up of individual passion and thought, something penetrated and pervaded by personality ; while law prides itself on being blind to distinctions of persons, and on imposing an inflexibly uniform rule upon all alike. Hence poets have frequently been born *antinomian*, they have denounced law as a system of mechanical bonds in the name, now of emancipated impulse and unreined desire, now of the higher law of spiritual freedom. So Shelley and so Blake. But theirs is not the dominant note of English poetry. Our poets have on the whole been, for better or worse, in close touch with the deepest convictions of the nation ; they have interpreted its best instincts ; and none more signally than the greatest of all. But long before Shakespeare and Milton, in that momentous 14th century when England could already arraign her kings, one stern poetic voice is heard arraigning England herself for her loose observance of the laws she had set up. William Langland saw the England of his day in a dream, as Bunyan, 300 years later, saw the England of his, given up to lawlessness.

The great Elizabethans too, except Marlowe—the Shelley of the 16th century—are penetrated with the sanctity of civic and political

law. The "Faerie Queene" of Spenser, the most complete and splendid expression of Elizabethan ideals, is indeed no severe and frowning temple of Minos; it has rather been likened to an upper chamber suffused with the morning sunlight, rich with the fragrance and music of the wakening world. It is informed through and through by the passion for beauty. Yet Spenser is no epicurean. His passion for beauty finds sustenance not chiefly in the beauty that cloyes or even thrills and exalts the sense, but in that which uplifts the spirit and kindles the nerve: in heroic emprise, in self-consecration, and self-control. Beneath that exalted sensibility of his lay the hard grit of an Elizabethan statesman, lay the stern asceticism, even, of a Puritan. And so, to the moral equipment of his ideal man belongs, together with holiness, temperance, and chastity,—justice. Law and order matter to him supremely, and not only as pious aspirations: he is ruthless in enforcing them. His champion of Justice, Sir Artegall, who stands for Lord Grey, the Vicegerent of Ireland, to whose suite Spenser was attached, is attended everywhere by a man of iron mould,

Immoveable, resistless without end,
Who in his hand an iron flail did hold
With which he thresht out falsehood and did truth unfold.

While Sir Artegall himself, who has been "nursled in all the discipline of justice"¹ from childhood, wields a sword of adamant that cleaves whatever it lights on. A conception of Justice of more than Roman rigour, one thinks. And indeed the Elizabethan treatment of Ireland, which Spenser has in view, showed a contempt for the customs of the subject people, a masterful overriding of *their* justice by *our* justice, which Rome only practised under extreme provocation. The day of our third type of national ideal had not yet dawned. But Spenser was an idealist, and his ruthlessness, like that of another, much maligned, idealist of our age, Friedrich Nietzsche, was rooted in his idealism. He saw a world from which the goddess of Justice had taken flight, grief-stricken at the wickedness of men: nothing remained but that her champion should restore her dominion by the sword. The gentle and humane Spenser represents the legal and law-abiding temper of England on the side, it must be owned,

¹ "F.Q." v. i. 9 f.

on which it stands nearest to despotism. And the modern Englishman finds himself more easily, in this as in other matters, in the neighbouring poetic world—the world at once more supremely poetic, and more profoundly real, of Shakespeare. Shakespeare's politics, it is true, no more than Spenser's, are ours; the Civil wars and the Revolution lie once for all between us; a gulf which the stoutest Tory reactionary cannot cross. Democrats—even so large and free a spirit as Whitman—may turn away from his genially contemptuous pictures of the Roman mob. But Shakespeare, Tudor poet as he was, draws arbitrary power with a yet more incisive hand. If he laughs at the Roman citizens on whose political sentiments Mark Antony plays what tune he pleases, he makes Cæsar himself a provoking compound of magnificent pretensions and senile weakness. And the English Histories are weighted with an almost oppressive sense of the national significance of law. Shakespeare does not show us the goddess of Justice flying with shrieks away from earth; nor a knightly champion vindicating her with an adamant sword. But he shows us the Titan Richard III, trampling, with easy cynical smile, the innocent lives which stand in his path; and the tender flower, Richard II, as beautiful as the other was ungainly, overriding the liberties of England with the insolent nonchalance of boyhood. Bolingbroke is able to dethrone Richard because Richard stands for wanton misrule and he for the might of law, for the established and ordered polity of England. And it is this ordered polity of England and neither Bolingbroke nor Richard, that is the hero of this play. For Bolingbroke, having dethroned Richard in the name of law, himself violates law by sending him to death; and thus incurs for the dynasty he founds the Nemesis which finally overwhelms the House of Lancaster in the Civil Wars. So far is Shakespeare from the worship of the strong man; so far is he from the worship of the State—from the unqualified worship even of his own England. The strong man Bolingbroke had saved the State, but the strong man, in his posterity, goes down; and so far from crime being as Macchiavelli taught, a method of benefiting a State, Shakespeare saw in it only a desperate hazard which might seal its doom.

But if he refuses to worship force, Shakespeare believes unflinchingly in government. Only he sees that all government succeeds best when it has the wills of the governed on its side, and his ideal for a

State is that it should be what in modern language we call an organism, what in his is called a harmony—

Congreeing in a full and natural close
Like music.

Therefore doth heaven divide
The state of man in divers functions,
Setting endeavour in continual motion ;
To which is fixed, as an aim or butt,
Obedience : for so work the honey-bees,
Creatures that by a rule in nature teach
The act of order to a peopled kingdom.

“ Hen. V.” I. ii.

The poetry of our greatest poet is then permeated with the ideal of law. But what of the ideal of liberty? Liberty, as an ideal, stirs us, and above all stirs the poet in us more deeply than law. Yet in the poetry of Shakespeare and his generation the note of liberty is hardly heard save in genial mockery at the fantastic tricks played in its name by the Roman plebeians, or Jack Cade, or Caliban. Nay, in all English poetry up till his time we rarely detect it. There were serfs, and dungeons, and pining captives in England before the 17th century; but it was only then that their inarticulate misery broke out in songs to divine liberty. The oppressed and the singers had, till then, belonged, on the whole, to distinct categories. The poets were on the prevailing side; their sweetness came out of its strength; Chaucer, the favourite of kings and friend of queens, never hints at the grinding economic oppression which provoked the agrarian revolution. Queen Elizabeth was an autocrat, but her autocratic power came home chiefly to Catholics and Puritans, whose armoury of retort included many formidable weapons, but not the trumpet blasts of an Areopagitica. It was only under the more provocative and headstrong autocracy of the Stuarts that the wrongs done to public and private liberty in England found immortal voice. Milton had thought deeply upon liberty; and his thought was nourished on the wisdom of Athens and the idealism of the early Church. Liberty with him meant both the right of every man to speak his mind unchallenged—*democratic* freedom—and *spiritual* freedom, or the willing self-surrender to a higher law. The second was for Milton the ground and justification of the first. Liberty is with him always, ultimately, the liberty to obey, the release from a lower control

for the sake of perfect service to a higher. And he assails with equal vigour, though with different weapons, the human laws and despotisms which thwart the higher service and the human weakness which flags in it. That higher service and therefore the ideal of perfect liberty, in its conflict with human weakness, is the theme of his great poems. The Lady in "Comus" vindicates it; Adam and Eve transgress it; Christ regains Paradise for man by submitting to it; Samson, after his tragic failure, reasserts it by his death. In the Prose works he deals rather with the impediments imposed by tyrannical laws. If he thunders against the censorship, it is that the mind of England may freely unfold its God-given powers; if he would extend the right of divorce, it is because marriage is sometimes a clog to the spiritual life. And when he came to discharge, at the cost of his eyesight, the "noble task" of defending English liberty before the bar of European opinion, he made very clear that he meant much more by it than the right of the English people to manage its political affairs as it chose. At the close of the "Second Defence of the English People" he turns upon the fellow-countrymen, as Wordsworth will do in his war sonnets, with an outburst of impassioned eloquence, warning them that to have beaten down their enemies, and establishe republican government, will avail them nothing if they neglect the greater victories of peace:—

Nam et vos, O cives . . . For your chances, either of winning or keeping liberty, will be not a little affected, fellow-citizens, by what you are yourselves. Unless your liberty is of such a kind as arms can neither procure nor destroy, unless a liberty founded only on piety, justice, temperance, have struck deep and intimate root in your hearts, there will not be wanting those who will rob you insidiously of the liberty you boast to have won in arms. War has exalted many whom peace brings low. If at the close of war you neglect the arts of peace; if war is your peace and freedom, war your sole glory and virtue, you will find, trust me, peace itself the most arduous kind of war, and what you took for your liberty, your servitude. Unless by loyal and active devotion to God and men . . . you have put away the superstitious spring of ignorance of true religion from your hearts, you will find those who will put you like cattle under the yoke. Unless you expel avarice, ambition, luxury from your minds and from your households, you will have the tyrant whom you thought to encounter abroad and in the field upon you at home, within, and yet more stern, rather a host of tyrants will be begotten daily, unendurably, in your very entrails. *These* you must first conquer, this is the warfare of peace, these are victories, arduous indeed and though bloodless more glorious by far than the bloody victories of war; and unless you are

victors here also, that enemy and tyrant late in the field you will either not conquer at all or you will have conquered him in vain.

For if anyone thinks that to devise ingenious means of filling the treasury, to array forces by land and sea, to deal astutely with foreign envoys, and make sagacious leagues and treaties, is of more value for the state than providing clean-handed justice, redressing grievances, relieving distress, securing to each his own, you will discover too late, when these great affairs have suddenly deceived you, that these small ones, as you account them, have proved your ruin. Nay, even your trust in armies and allies will betray you unless it be guarded by the authority of justice; and wealth and honours, which most men pursue, easily change their owners. They repair where virtue and industry and patient labour are most alive, and desert the slackers. Thus nation precipitates the downfall of nation, or else the sounder part of a nation subverts the more corrupt: thus you have overthrown the royalists. If you slip into the same vices, if you begin to imitate them, to pursue the same bubbles, you will be assuredly royalists for your foes, whether your present foes or their successors; who trusting in the same prayers to God, the same patience, integrity, skill, by which you prevailed, will deservedly subjugate your degenerate sloth and folly.

Know—lest you should blame anyone but yourselves—know, that just as to be free is exactly the same thing as to be dutiful, to be wise, to be just and temperate, prudent with one's own, not laying hands on other's possessions, and thence, finally, generous and strong, so to be the opposite of these, is the same as to be a slave.

If after such great deeds you should degenerate, . . . posterity will pass judgment: that the foundations, yea and more than the foundations, were magnificently laid; but that men were wanting who should complete the building; it will grieve that after such beginnings perseverance was lacking; it will see a great harvest of glory, an occasion for the doing of mighty deeds, but the men were wanting for the occasion; but there were not wanting men to counsel and incite, and when the deeds were achieved, to adorn and glorify them with eternal praise.

Thus Milton by way of liberty and Shakespeare by way of law, arrive at a national ideal which, while very imperfectly worked out as yet in the English State, answers to the strongest and deepest political instincts of the English mind;—an ideal in which order and freedom both have their place, less as antagonists than as partners; order, with us, being most relished when it is won not by terrified obedience or stupid routine, but by the intelligent co-operation of free citizens; and freedom when it expresses that willing acceptance of the social and political order which Heine compared to the congenial bondage of a happy marriage. In our later poetry this Shakesporean and Miltonic ideal for England is expressed most decisively by

Wordsworth, with the accent on Freedom, and, with a yet more emphatic accent upon Order, by Tennyson ; for whom Freedom is a kind of *annexe* to “ settled government,”

broadening slowly down
From precedent to precedent.

Expressed most decisively, I say, by Wordsworth and Tennyson. For the English poetry of the 19th century has otherwise broken rather sharply away from this tradition ; and when, as with Swinburne and Meredith, it finally struck a note passionately national again, it was under the spell of other influences, and by way of other paths. The French Revolution altered the psychology, as well as the geography, of Europe ; especially, it left enduring traces in the sensitive brains of poets. It severed the old reverence for government, and thence for law ; it stimulated the temper which sanctifies impulse, and recognizes no oracle but that planted in the individual breast. Yet it also enriched and enlarged the scope of those individual impulses. In a Blake, a Shelley, who fiercely repudiated the old bond of law, it created a new bond of pity, which included all living things.

A robin-redbreast in a cage,
Doth all heaven and earth enrage,

cried Blake.

For I am as a nerve, along which creep
The else unfelt oppressions of the earth,

said Shelley. And Keats, in whom both the political anarchism and the new social sympathy were less pronounced, could yet speak, not less nobly, of the poet,

To whom the miseries of the earth
Are miseries, and will not let them rest.

And Shelley expressed more magnificently than any other English poet the great poetic vision of Humanity :—

Man one harmonious soul of every soul,
Whose nature is its own divine control,

and of the *Universe* kindled and interwoven in every part by Beauty and Love. Of Shelley in another capacity I shall speak presently. It will be well, first, to dwell awhile on the most original, if not the greatest, of the poets of the century, whose contribution to our present subject is perhaps more apposite than any other.

Wordsworth, starting from a passion for freedom as revolutionary and anti-national as theirs, rose, like Milton, and sustained by Milton's inspiration, in the presence of a supreme national crisis, to poetry of freedom which is penetrated both with the passion for country and with the recognition of law, and better than any other in our whole literature answers to our aspirations and our needs to-day. As securely as Milton, Wordsworth knows that wealth and military power cannot of themselves make a people great :—

By the soul
Only, the nations shall be great and free.

He knows that there is the closest inward connexion between the character of a people and its destiny in the world ; and with all his unshaken confidence in the power of Englishmen to work out their own safety by their own right hands, with all his assurance of their union under the threat of invasion :—

in Britain is one breath ;
We all are with you now from shore to shore,
Ye men of Kent ! 'tis victory or death ;

with all this, he recognized the grave failings, which, then as now, sullied our national temper. And so he called in his dejection to Milton,

Milton ! thou shouldst be living at this hour ;

I need not quote the famous words. And the memory of Milton came indeed to his aid, lifting him out of his despondency with the conviction that the English people, with all its flaws, stands, by its soul, for something indestructible in the world's history, in the life of humanity.

It is not to be thought of that the Flood
Of British freedom, which to the open sea
Of the world's praise from dark antiquity
Hath flowed, . . . should perish, and to evil and to good
Be lost for ever. In our Halls is hung
Armoury of the invincible knights of old ;
We must be free or die, who speak the tongue
That Shakespeare spake, the faith and morals hold
Which Milton held. In everything we're sprung
Of Earth's first blood, have titles manifold.

Thus Wordsworth sounds, in a way wholly his own, the great national ideals which had possessed the minds, both so vast and so unlike, of Shakespeare and Milton. What they saw from different,

in part conflicting standpoints, he, though not to be compared with either in range of experience or in compass of thought, nevertheless saw at once. The need for disciplined unity against a foreign foe and order in the State, which Shakespeare most keenly felt, the need for spiritual growth, and the removal of whatever, in law or institution, shackles it, which inspired Milton,—these together are the inspiration of Wordsworth's prophetic call to his countrymen in a world crisis more terrible than either Shakespeare or Milton had ever known.

III.

But this lofty patriotism of Wordsworth and Milton holds in it the seed of something yet loftier. When we recognize, as they did, that by the *soul* only the nations shall be great and free, we have in effect recognized the condition of that highest type of national life of which I spoke. A great German historian, Eduard Zeller, writing long before the war, used these significant words :—

It is questions of power and advantage, it is prejudices and ambitions, which divide the peoples ; what unites them is the culture of ideal interests, morality, art, science, education. In this domain they can unfold all their powers without hostile collision ; here they have all common aims, while the widest scope is left for their individual genius in conceiving and executing them ?

If this is so, if “by the soul” the nations are made implicit members of a world community, while by their greed of wealth and power and by their fear of one another, they are made deadly enemies ; it would be strange if poetry, which is the soul's most intense expression, had not done something in these latter days to quicken the sense of international fellowship. In the first generation following the Revolution, the growth of the sense of fellowship with other nations almost always meant a loosening of the bond of communion with one's own. Wordsworth bitterly resented his country's declaration of war with the young French republic, and listened fiercely for the news of English defeats. Schiller accepted citizenship of France ; and our great chemist, Priestley, invited to accept a seat in the assembly shortly after the September massacres, 1792, declined only because of his imperfect mastery of French. Half a generation later, Byron and Shelley passionately renounced their citizenship of England, and both seemed, by that renunciation, to become citizens, in a fuller sense than ever before, of the kingdom of poetry.

But the Revolution ran its course, and in 1797 the Republic's magnificent war of defence against the embattled monarchies of Europe became a war of aggression even against other republics, like Switzerland and Venice. The gospel of liberation, so ardently proclaimed eight years before, turned into a gospel of conquest. The despised sentiment of nationality, thus outraged, instantly recovered its force ; the Swiss Republicans fought against their fellow-republicans for their country, just as the French socialists to-day are fighting for theirs against their German confederates. Wordsworth's sonnets on the extinction of the Venetian republic, and on the subjugation of Switzerland, both too famous to quote, are the first great lyrics called forth by the tragedy of another people since Milton's yet greater "Avenge, O Lord, thy slaughter'd saints". And Milton would hardly have spoken with such passion, if he had even spoken at all, had not the massacred people been fellow-Protestants. But Wordsworth cares nothing about their religion ; the faith of Venice and of most of Switzerland was not his ; he only feels poignantly that they had stood for freedom and were now subdued.

But Wordsworth's services to the cause of international liberty were to be far more signal than this, far more signal than is even now generally known. In 1808 the most critical point in the struggle with Napoleon was the Spanish Peninsula. Austria and Prussia were for the time effaced, Russia was humbled, and the rest of the continent was virtually incorporated with the French empire. But in Spain and Portugal the conqueror was met for the first time, not merely by national armies but by a nation in arms. After a century and a half of steady decadence, the countrymen of Cervantes and the Cid, almost without training or military leadership, showed the superb valour which had thrilled the England of Shakespeare. But the task of resisting Napoleon's veterans was stupendous. It was in this crisis, closely resembling the German invasions of Belgium, that England sent her expeditionary force to Portugal. It was eventually to strike the deadliest blow at Napoleon's power. But its first stage was humiliating. After an indecisive success, the leaders concluded the Convention of Cintra, which virtually purchased their safety by a surrender of the Portuguese cause. Questions were asked in Parliament ; but it was an impractical poet who, in a spirit worthy of Milton, in one of the most splendid pieces of reasoned eloquence in the language, ex-

posed the meanness and greed which had dictated the transaction, and summoned his countrymen to rise to the height of the heroic cause they had undertaken, to deliver the small and weak people fighting for their fatherland. The political and military situation he argues with the detailed mastery of a statesman ; but the informing passion of the whole is his own lofty conviction that, " by the soul only the Nations shall be great and free," and that the soul is nowhere more greatly manifested than in the heroic crises of national existence. Even the sonnets do not rise to higher notes of poetry than the prose sentences in which this brooding poet of tranquillity declares that man will always be found more than equal to whatever fate may befall him ; it is his fate which, save at challenging crises like this, does not satisfy the need of his spirit.

The passions of men (I mean the soul of sensibility in the heart of man) —in all quarrels, in all contests, in all quests, in all employments which are either sought by men or thrust upon them—do immeasurably transcend their objects. The true sorrow of humanity consists in this ;—not that the mind of man fails ; but that the course and demands of action and of life so rarely correspond with the dignity and intensity of human desires. . . . But, with the remembrance of what has been done, and in the face of the interminable evils which are threatened, a Spaniard can never have cause to complain of this, while a follower of the tyrant remains in arms upon the Peninsula.

Spain was liberated from Napoleon ; but his overthrow was, as great military triumphs have commonly been, no victory for freedom. If it unseated the great usurper, it everywhere enthroned political reaction. The ten ensuing years saw a series of national efforts for freedom, followed with passionate sympathy by a new generation of English poets. And a new element enters into their sympathy. Wordsworth's championship of the cause of Spain, Switzerland, and Venice is almost untouched by historic sense : they are patriots deprived of their freedom ; but his ardour is not quickened by concern for their specific genius ; his imagination is not yet kindled by that passion for Venice as Venice which Ruskin first taught the world. The spirit of the French Revolution was fundamentally unhistoric : in breaking with the past it broke also with the temper which lingers over and interprets the past. And Wordsworth, far as he receded from the Revolution, never outgrew its anti-historic bias. Byron and Shelley were more genuine children of the Revolution than Wordsworth had ever been ; and they remained arch-rebels to the end.

But, all the same, they lived half a generation later in that swiftly moving time, and they stand for some things which Wordsworth never reached. To them, as to him, the historic spirit as such was strange. But two historic lands stood out for them in consummate splendour from the black wilderness of the past at large. Greece and Italy had naturally been objects of keen interest among scholars since the Renaissance ; but there was a vast gulf between the cultured homage of a Gray, or even the majestic tribute of a Milton, and the passionate claim to spiritual citizenship which inspires Byron's

O Rome, my country, city of my soul,

and led him to give his life for the deliverance of the Greeks.

But still the historic apprehension remains, in both poets, rather ardent than penetrating. We see the passion of the devotee more clearly than the lineaments of the goddess. A generation later, with the Brownings, and then with Meredith, and even with that latter-day Shelley, Swinburne, Italy is not less deeply loved, but she is far more intimately known and far more vividly portrayed. Meredith's "Sandra Belloni," or "Vittoria" is an eloquent symbol of the spirit of the Italian "Risorgimento" ; but she is also a noble rendering of Italian womanhood, nerved to the height of aspiration and of heroic resolve by the great crisis. And Robert Browning's picture of such a woman is not less perfect in the poem, "The Italian in England," which Mazzini used to read to his fellow-exiles in London. The hunted patriot has crouched six days among the ferns, when a company of peasant women went by near his hiding-place. He throws his glove to strike the last, taking his chance of betrayal. The woman gave no sign, but marked the place and went on. He prepares an ingenious tale to explain his position, plausible enough to deceive a peasant. An hour later she returns :—

But when I saw that woman's face,
Its calm simplicity of grace,
Our Italy's own attitude,
In which she walked thus far, and stood,
Planting each naked foot so firm,
To crush the snake and spare the worm,—
At first sight of her eyes, I said,
"I am that man upon whose head
They fix the price, because I hate
The Austrians over us,"—

in short put his life in her hands. She goes back with a message to his friends at Padua. After three days she returns,

I was no surer of sunrise
Than of her coming.

Mrs. Browning was a far more effusive Italian patriot than her husband, but she had less concentrated power, and the prolonged diatribes of "Casa Guidi Windows" and "The Poems before Congress," are not much more digestible to-day than most of the poetry inspired by obsolete politics. But one figure of hers has something of the quality of her husband's Italian peasant-woman—the court lady of Turin who arrays herself in her most stately dress to visit the soldiers, Italian and French, who have been wounded in defence of Italy at Villafranca; that hospital is for her the court, and those wounded soldiers kings. And her words to the French soldier strike one note, not the least noble, of internationalism :—

Each of the heroes around us has fought for his land and line,
But thou hast fought for a stranger, in hate of a wrong not thine.
Happy are all free peoples, too strong to be dispossesst.
But blessed are those among nations, who dare to be free for the rest.

With Algernon Charles Swinburne the English poetry of international idealism assumes an altogether larger compass and grander flight, notwithstanding that his fundamental conceptions are still the crude and outworn ideas of the Revolution. Outworn as they are, they receive a new afflatus from his magnificent lyric power; but it is lyric power pure and simple, for of critical or speculative power applied to ideas Swinburne had hardly a trace. But as I have said, his international idealism has a vast sweep and range. Earth, mother of the peoples, and sister of the stars in their courses, lives again, an aged, tragic figure, and her children, the nations, her glory and her shame, call to her for help :—

Thou that badest man be born, bid man be free.

And so the voices, successively of Greece and Italy, of Spain and France, Russia and Switzerland, of Germany and England, are lifted up in intercession. One recalls with curious interest to-day the voice which Swinburne ascribed to the Germany of half a century ago; the more so since the colossal history of 19th century Germany has passed almost unnoticed in our poetry, through which the great struggles of

19th century Italy sent so deep and sustained reverberations. And this Germany of Swinburne's is curiously remote, it is the Germany of Tacitus and Grimm's fairy tales, and the motley crowd of princedoms and dukeries :—

I am she beside whose forest-hidden fountains
 Slept freedom armed,
 By the magic born to music in my mountains,
 Heart-chained and charmed.
 By those days the very dream whereof delivers
 My soul from wrong ;
 By the sounds that make of all my ringing rivers
 None knows what song ;
 By the many tribes and names of my division
 One from another ;
 By the single eye of sun-compelling vision
 Hear us, O mother !

In sharp contrast with the vague and uncertain touch of that portrait is the terrific sureness and trenchancy of his Italy and his France. Swinburne felt deeply the spell of France ; he gloried in her genius which had shown Europe the way to Revolution ; he gloried in her as the birthplace of his master, Hugo ; but he saw her also prostituted to sensuality, and submitting tamely to the yoke of the Second Empire ; and he turned upon her with the fierce yet agonized rebuke of a lover to a guilty mistress. But when the fiery trial of 1870 came upon her, his anger changed to pity, and he felt that she who had beyond others loved humanity, had, like the Magdalen, atoned for her sins. It is as a Magdalen, thus guilty and thus redeemed, that Freedom, the spirit of God and man, addresses her :—

Am I not he that hath made thee and begotten thee,
 I, God, the spirit of man ?
 Wherefore now these eighteen years hast thou forgotten me,
 From whom thy life began ?
 Yet I know thee turning back now to behold me,
 To bow thee and make thee bare,
 Not for sin's sake but penitence, by my feet to hold me,
 And wipe them with thy hair.
 And sweet ointment of thy grief thou hast brought thy master,
 And set before thy lord,
 From a box of flawed and broken alabaster,
 Thy broken spirit, poured.

And love-offerings, tears and perfumes, hast thou given me,
 To reach my feet, and touch ;
 Therefore thy sins, which are many, are forgiven thee,
 Because thou hast loved much.

From George Meredith, too, the tragic overthrow of France, no less than the desperate fight for Italian unity, elicited noble poetry,—poetry as much more pregnant and weighty in intellectual substance than Swinburne's, as its music is less eloquent and winged. The ode "December, 1870" stands, with the greatest of Wordsworth's War sonnets, at the head of the political poetry of the century. Like Swinburne he feels the mingling of glorious gifts and foulness in the French genius. But for him too the glory is the supreme thing : it was she who led the way in the liberation of mankind :—

O she, that made the brave appeal
 For manhood when our time was dark,
 And from our fetters drove the spark
 Which was as lightning to reveal
 New seasons, with the swifter play
 Of pulses, and benigner day ;
 She that divinely shook the dead
 From living man ; that stretched ahead
 Her resolute forefinger straight,
 And marched towards the gloomy gate
 Of Earth's Untried. . . .

But now this prophet and leader among nations is plunged in ruin,
 half through her own sins : she who in

The good name of Humanity
 Called forth the daring vision ! she,
 She likewise half corrupt of sin,
 Angel and wanton ! can it be ?
 Her star has foundered in eclipse,
 The shriek of madness on her lips :
 Shreds of her, and no more, we see.
 There is horrible convulsion, smothered din,
 As of one who in a grave-cloth struggles to be free.

Yet amid the chaos she is full of song :—

Look down where deep in blood and mire,
 Black thunder plants his feet, and ploughs
 The soil for ruin ; that is France :
 Still thrilling like a lyre.

And these words, written forty-five years ago, are yet more moving to-day, in the midst of a struggle less outwardly disastrous but far more deadly for France, and which she did far less to provoke.

How, lastly, does this international poetry of the end of the century, of Swinburne and Meredith, differ from that of Byron and Shelley, near the beginning ? Partly, as we have seen, in that it is both vaster in range and more penetrating in degree of insight into the personality of nations. But even more, because it goes along with a passionate love of, and imaginative understanding for, England herself. Byron and Shelley have no note of joy in England ; but Meredith and Swinburne are as firmly rooted in her soil as Shakespeare and Wordsworth ; where in modern poetry is the wonder of this “ enchanted isle ” made more alive than in the one poet’s pictures of her woodlands and breathing valleys, her Hampshire maids and farmers, or in the other poet’s pictures of the North Sea surging against the embattled crags and castles of Northumberland ?

And there is meaning in this latter-day union of what we commonly call national and international idealism. It means, as I have said, that the love of country itself has been lifted to a higher plane. So long, let me repeat, as national greatness is conceived in terms of power, or of territory, or even of wealth, the very conception of a community of nations can hardly emerge : other nations are rivals to be beaten, are material to be made use of, are territory to be annexed, or at best, are allies to rally to our help ; their individual aims, interests, aspirations, count only as pieces, more or less formidable, in the game of the opposite side or in our own. So far and so long as these conditions prevail, nationalism and internationalism are inconsistent and incompatible : the one can exist only at the expense of the other. But the root fact of the situation,—and the ground of the deepest encouragement is this,—that in proportion as the aims of a nation cease to be fundamentally material, as soon as it seeks a well-being founded upon the spiritual enlightenment, the mental and moral health of its population, the similar aims of other nations become contributory, instead of rival forces, *their* advance an element of its own progress ; all these multiform national lives becoming figures in the complex pattern of the life of Humanity ; and the love of each man for his country, as Mazzini said, only the most definite expression of his love for all the nations of the world. The problem of converting

that old intense but narrow love which finds complete expression in a fighting patriotism into this not less intense love of country which is "only the most definite expression" of a love which goes beyond country,—this problem is one with that of transforming the brute-will to master man into the spiritual will to uplift him : and therefore all who are working for the spiritual uplifting of their fellow-countrymen are working for humanity, and all who are working for humanity are working for their own land. And if there is something higher than patriotism, as Edith Cavell said with the clear vision of martyrdom, in her last recorded words, so the recognition and fulfilment of that something higher is itself an act of patriotism ; and she herself will be remembered not only as one who loved England, and died for it, but as one who loved England too intensely and too nobly to hate any of her fellow-men.

BAGHDAD AND AFTER.

BY DR. ALPHONSE MINGANA.

THE fall of Baghdad has elicited so much comment in the press of the country, and is an event of such immeasurable importance, that it may not be out of place in these pages to offer some remarks by way of explanation of certain aspects of its significance.

The city is said to contain within its precincts some 100,000 to 130,000 inhabitants. These figures, which have been adopted by the *Times* (12th March, 1917), are far below the limits of truth ; the inaccuracy, however, must not be attributed to the *Times*, but to the imperfect Turkish census. Those aware of the utter deficiency of the Turkish survey of population would add at least one-third to the total given in official registers, whilst at the same time we must not overlook the fact that in Mesopotamia the male population alone is registered. A woman, and especially a married woman, is a *haram*, a sacred thing, and no one is allowed to call her by her name except a husband, a father, a brother, or a near relative, since a wife does not adopt her husband's name on marriage. It follows, therefore, that a great secrecy surrounds her Muslim name. In the census of 1911-1912, which immediately followed the so-called Constitution, the inhabitants of Mosul were given as 95,000, those of Baghdad as the double of this number, or approximately 192,000, and those of Basrah less than the half of those of Mosul, i.e. 43,000. After making every allowance for uncertainties under this heading, I should be tempted to give 130,000 to Mosul, from 200,000 to 230,000 to Baghdad, and some 40,000 to 50,000 to Basrah. These three localities are the three main cities of actual Mesopotamia. Basrah and its dependencies represent the old Chaldæan hegemony, Baghdad the Babylonian Empire, and Mosul the old Nineveh, which was the centre of the Assyrian Empire. Taken together, these cities form a complete and inseparable whole, so far as language, manners, and customs are concerned. It is inconceivable, therefore, that one power should hold under its

sway Basrah without Baghdad, or Baghdad without Mosul. In the domain of commerce Baghdad is certainly the most important of the three, although in British and Indian goods Basrah is relatively more active. Mosul generally receives its supplies of cotton goods through the ports of Syria. Apart from dates, Basrah derives from Baghdad many of the articles which she exports to Asia or Europe, and Baghdad owes to Mosul the greater part of her export trade in gall-nuts, wool, etc. At least one-third of the wheat and barley consumed in Baghdad comes from Mosul, but the former has transactions on a grand scale with Persia, with which the latter could not stand in competition.

The religious standpoint of the two towns is as follows :—

MOSUL.—Of Christians : there are about 12,000 of the East and West Syrian Church ; of Jews : about 3000 ; whilst the rest of the population are exclusively Sunni Muslims.

BAGHDAD.—Of Christians : there are about 7500, mostly of the East Syrian Church ; of Jews : about 30,000 ; whilst the rest of the population is Muslim, almost equally divided between Shiah and Sunnis.

From a Christian standpoint Mosul is far more important, containing as it does two theological seminaries, the seats of both the Chaldæan and Syrian Patriarchs, and the residence of the Apostolic delegate of Mesopotamia, Armenia, and Kurdistan.

The main features of the history of Baghdad can easily be delineated. In olden times it was its vilayet which gave birth to the first civilization in the world. The staunchest Egyptophiles admit that a part of the early Egyptian civilization is traceable to the dwellers of the lower villages of the Mesopotamian delta. It is certainly from that part that the first code in the community of mankind has emanated, and it is possibly there that the uplifting art of writing was invented. In later generations, the dealings of the Kings of Babylonia with the classical people of Yahweh have made the name of Nebuchadnezzar, and some other potentates known to the least advanced of Christian, Jewish, and Mohammedan literary circles. After experiencing different vicissitudes the country found itself with Seleucia, the capital of the Seleucids, and with Ctesiphon, that of the Arsacids or Parthians, and of the Sasanids. After the battle of Yarmuk and Qadesiya, and at the coming into power of the Omayyad Caliphs of Damascus, it looked for a while as if the centre of gravity was shifting to Syria proper. This anomaly was, however, of short duration, and the Abbasid Mansur, in laying in

762 the first foundations of the actual Baghdad, made it for centuries the first city of the world with regard to population, science, and civilization, and consequently the pivot on which the Arab Empire moved, till its overthrow by the Mongol hordes of Hulakhu in 1258. After many changes the city passed into the hands of the Turkish Sultan Murad in 1638.

The temperature of the city is rather hot in summer, and the well-to-do people make a practice of going into *sardabs* or cellars of varying depth, where they remain until 4 or 5 p.m. There large cloth-fans called *pankas*, worked to and fro by a servant, cause a current of air to pass over the perspiring faces of the inmates of the house. Towards the evening all ascend to the flat roofs of the dwelling to enjoy the night-fall breeze which almost invariably rises sometime before midnight. This source of relief is unfortunately interrupted for about a fortnight by the *shargi* gales, which make themselves felt in a strange way. The dust-storms and violent winds which accompany them render sleep on the roof almost impossible, and the household resorts again to its pleasant *sardabs* or bedrooms. A considerable number of the inhabitants betake themselves in autumn to the gardens, extending in some places to a width of many miles on both sides of the Tigris, to enjoy there the pleasure of ripening dates and oranges. A feast of *barban* dates might indeed tempt even an "All-Highest" and a "Vice-gerent of God".

Generally speaking, the climate is, however, healthy and innocuous, and many inhabitants of that most unhealthy town of Basrah, go to Baghdad in summer to avoid the shivering sensations of the fever which undermines the strength of the toughest Mesopotamian Goliath. Arab scholars have uttered a saying worthy of consideration by every traveller to, or dweller in, the cradle of humanity (in Yakut, 4, 683): "A stranger who lives one year in Mosul, his body will show forth emblems of strength; a stranger who lives one year in Baghdad, his intelligence will show signs of increase".

The effect of the fall of Baghdad on Islam and the East in general will be due to the following considerations:—

1. No Muslim in the world but knows the names of Maccah and Madinah, and certainly none of them can afford to ignore the name of the city of the Caliphate. The holy places contain simply a scanty memorial of the one who once led the world to the cult of Allah, but Baghdad is the personification of the power given to the Prophet of Allah. Muhammad died in Arabia, but continued to live through

the Caliphs of his house residing in the "City of Peace". The inhabitants of Upper Mesopotamia believe that Baghdad is immortal, in the same way that the Roman Catholics of the world believe Rome to be immortal. In the case of unhappy events occurring, they say "Baghdad has not been destroyed," meaning "It is not yet the end of the world". These considerations make of Baghdad a holy place of the first importance. Close to it the main Shiah shrines of Karbalah serve to unite the two branches of the Muslim world in their veneration of the capital of the Arab Empire.

2. No less important is the fact that nearly all Muslim theological, judicial, and historical books have seen the light in Baghdad and in the surrounding districts. Was it not there that the second sacred book of Islam, the repertories of the *Sunnah*, the *Sahih* of Bukhari and his imitators were written? What shall we say about the annals of Tabarī, and the *Arabian Nights*, to mention only two from hundreds? How many pilgrims are to be found in the narrow streets of the city from different parts of the Muslim world, from Morocco as well as Algeria, from India as well as Persia! The only Muslims who make no pilgrimage are the nominal Muslim Turks of Constantinople, and the only Muslims who have declared an unlawful holy war is the gang of free-thinkers and rationalists pretending to be the successors of the Prophet.

3. Without pretending that from a military point of view the fall of Baghdad would be equivalent to a rout of the enemy in the plains of Flanders, it is, however, to be considered as of great importance. We have often forgotten that Turkey had occupied the best part of Persia, and might at any time by a single stroke have endangered from the rear the positions of the Russian army in Armenia and northern Persia. This danger has been removed. The Turkish troops, deprived of their base at Baghdad, will be obliged to fall back from Kermanshah on Suleimaniya or Karkuk, with their main base in Mosul, but this is a route of a very tortuous and difficult character.

Of one thing we may be quite certain, the whispering galleries of the Near East will re-echo with the news of the fall of Baghdad in an even more intensified form than the elect nation of the prophets echoed it in the days of yore. Many soothsayers will repeat in a mysterious and mystical language, "Babylon is fallen, Babylon is fallen". The effect of this semi-magical formula cannot fail to be considerable on the Muslim mind, and on the Arabs in general.

STEPS TOWARDS THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF LOUVAIN.

In the following pages we print the fifth list of contributions to the new library for the exiled University of Louvain, and we take this opportunity of renewing our thanks to the respective donors for their welcome response to our appeal.

This list does not by any means complete the record of gifts to date, but such has been the pressure upon our space in the present issue that we have been compelled to hold over a further list, of at least equal length, for publication in our next number.

In our last appeal we ventured to suggest the titles of a number of important works of reference, which are considered to be indispensable to the efficiency of every reference and research library such as the one we have in contemplation, in the belief that there were amongst our readers and their circle of friends, many who would gladly participate in this scheme of replacement did they know what works would be acceptable. The appeal met with an immediate response, and has resulted in the following gifts : From the Rev. Arthur Dixon a set of the "Oxford English Dictionary" ; from Mr. Arthur Sykes a copy of Dr. Wright's "English Dialect Dictionary" together with a number of classical texts ; and from yet another source a set of the "Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis" of Du Cange. The more formal and detailed record of these and other gifts received since the last appeal was made will appear in our next number.

The other works suggested in the list referred to may still be regarded as "desiderata".

Special reference should be made to a most welcome contribution from Messrs. King & Company, the Parliamentary Publishers and Booksellers, of Westminster, who generously invited the writer to make an unrestricted selection from the works announced in their current catalogue. As a result the collection has been enriched by the addition of 179 volumes, which in themselves constitute a library of sociological literature of considerable interest and importance.

May we hope that other publishers will follow the example of

Messrs. King & Company, and lend us a helping hand, either by giving us similar permission to mark their catalogues, or by submitting lists of works which they are willing to contribute ?

On several occasions in these pages we have expressed the hope that the agencies through which this reconstruction is to be effected should be as widely representative as possible, and we are glad to find that our hope has not been entertained in vain. Already offers of assistance have reached us from all classes of the community, not only in this country, but from Scotland, Ireland, Wales, India, Canada, South Africa, the West Indies, the United States, France, Italy, Switzerland, Spain, and Portugal, and we are encouraged to anticipate a still more active response, as the result of the wider appeal which is being made by the Executive of the International Committee, of which the Lord Muir Mackenzie is Chairman, with the Librarian of the House of Lords (Mr. Hugh Butler) as Honorary Secretary.

In renewing and emphasizing our appeal, we venture to express the further hope that every university, every college, every library, every learned society, and every publisher, to mention only the principal agencies whose support we are anxious to enlist, will feel it not only a privilege to co-operate, but that an obligation rests upon them to assist in making this reconstruction of the devastated library adequate in every respect to meet the requirements of the case.

We owe more to the great little nation of Belgium than we can ever repay, and it is fitting that we should seize the opportunity of repaying a portion of our debts, by making good, as far as in us lies, one of the many crimes against humanity of which the German army has been guilty. In so doing we shall give tangible proof to our noble Allies, of the high and affectionate regard in which we hold them, and honour them, for their incomparable bravery, and for the heroic sacrifices which they made in the honourable determination to remain true to their pledges, by indignantly refusing to listen to Germany's infamous proposals.

In order to obviate any needless duplication of gifts, the librarian would regard it as a favour if those who may wish to participate in this scheme would, in the first instance, send to him a list of the works which they are willing to contribute, so that the register may be examined with a view of ascertaining whether any of the titles already figure therein.

(Continued from p. 277.)

SIR WILLIAM OSLER, Bart., M.D., F.R.S., F.R.C.P., etc., Regius Professor of Medicine, Oxford.

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ORDER OF CLASSIFICATION.

000 General Works.

- 010 BIBLIOGRAPHY.
- 020 LIBRARY ECONOMY.
- 030 GENERAL CYCLOPEDIAS.
- 040 GENERAL COLLECTIONS.
- 050 GENERAL PERIODICALS.
- 060 GENERAL SOCIETIES.
- 070 NEWSPAPERS.
- 080 SPECIAL LIBRARIES. POLYGRAPHY.
- 090 BOOK RARITIES.

100 Philosophy.

- 110 METAPHYSICS.
- 120 SPECIAL METAPHYSICAL TOPICS.
- 130 MIND AND BODY.
- 140 PHILOSOPHICAL SYSTEMS.
- 150 MENTAL FACULTIES. PSYCHOLOGY.
- 160 LOGIC.
- 170 ETHICS.
- 180 ANCIENT PHILOSOPHERS.
- 190 MODERN PHILOSOPHERS.

200 Religion.

- 210 NATURAL THEOLOGY.
- 220 BIBLE.
- 230 DOCTRINAL THEOL. DOGMATICS.
- 240 DEVOTIONAL AND PRACTICAL.
- 250 HOMILETIC. PASTORAL. PAROCHIAL.
- 260 CHURCH. INSTITUTIONS. WORK.
- 270 RELIGIOUS HISTORY.
- 280 CHRISTIAN CHURCHES AND SECTS.
- 290 NON-CHRISTIAN RELIGIONS.

300 Sociology.

- 310 STATISTICS.
- 320 POLITICAL SCIENCE.
- 330 POLITICAL ECONOMY.
- 340 LAW.
- 350 ADMINISTRATION.
- 360 ASSOCIATIONS AND INSTITUTIONS.
- 370 EDUCATION.
- 380 COMMERCE AND COMMUNICATION.
- 390 CUSTOMS. COSTUMES. FOLK-LORE.

400 Philology.

- 410 COMPARATIVE.
- 420 ENGLISH.
- 430 GERMAN.
- 440 FRENCH.
- 450 ITALIAN.
- 460 SPANISH.
- 470 LATIN.
- 480 GREEK.
- 490 MINOR LANGUAGES.

500 Natural Science.

- 510 MATHEMATICS.
- 520 ASTRONOMY.
- 530 PHYSICS.
- 540 CHEMISTRY.
- 550 GEOLOGY.
- 560 PALEONTOLOGY.
- 570 BIOLOGY.
- 580 BOTANY.
- 590 ZOOLOGY.

600 Useful Arts.

- 610 MEDICINE.
- 620 ENGINEERING.
- 630 AGRICULTURE.
- 640 DOMESTIC ECONOMY.
- 650 COMMUNICATION AND COMMERCE.
- 660 CHEMICAL TECHNOLOGY.
- 670 MANUFACTURES.
- 680 MECHANIC TRADES.
- 690 BUILDING.

700 Fine Arts.

- 710 LANDSCAPE GARDENING.
- 720 ARCHITECTURE.
- 730 SCULPTURE.
- 740 DRAWING, DESIGN, DECORATION.
- 750 PAINTING.
- 760 ENGRAVING.
- 770 PHOTOGRAPHY.
- 780 MUSIC.
- 790 AMUSEMENTS.

800 Literature.

- 810 AMERICAN.
- 820 ENGLISH.
- 830 GERMAN.
- 840 FRENCH.
- 850 ITALIAN.
- 860 SPANISH.
- 870 LATIN.
- 880 GREEK.
- 890 MINOR LANGUAGES.

900 History.

- 910 GEOGRAPHY AND DESCRIPTION.
- 920 BIOGRAPHY.
- 930 ANCIENT HISTORY.
- 940 EUROPE.
- 950 ASIA.
- 960 AFRICA.
- 970 NORTH AMERICA.
- 980 SOUTH AMERICA.
- 990 OCEANICA AND POLAR REGIONS.

Modern.

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BURGO (Joannes de) *Pupilla oculi De septem Sacramentorū administratione : de decem Preceptis decalogi : ceterisq³ ecclesiasticorū (que rite institutum sacerdotem haud qua³ ignorare decet) officijs : . . . presbyteris oib³ / sacreq³ militie studiosis maiorē in modū necessaria. Adiectis tabula Capitulo⁴ / atq³ Indice alphabetario omnium in hoc opusculo contentorum . . . 1516. ([Colophon:] Tabule cum opusculo / Pupilla oculi nūcupato / finis : sumptib³ ꝑuidorū Ioannis Knoblouchi ꝛ Pauli Götz ciuiū ꝛ bibliopolarū Argeñ. ꝑlo Ioannis Schotti urbis incole. sub Annū dñi M.D.xvij. Kal' Martij.) 4to, ff. clxx, [15].*

* * Gothic letter.

R 39980

DU MOULIN (Pierre) *the Elder. The Waters of Siloe. To Qvench the Fire of PvrATORY and to droune the traditions, Limboes, mans satisfactions and all Popish Indulgences, against the reasons and allegations of a Portugall Frier of the order of St. Frances [i.e. J. Suares], supported by three treatises. The one written by the same Franciscan and entituled The fierie torrent, &c. The other two by two Doctors of Sorbon. The one intituled The burning furnasse [by P. V. Palma Cayet.] The other The fire of Helie [by A. Duval.] . . . Faithfully translated out of French by I. B. Printed at Oxford [by Joseph Barnes] for Iohn Barnes dwelling neere Holborne Conduit. 1612. 8vo, pp. [34], 406. R 40617*

FORSYTH (Peter Taylor) *The Christian ethic of war. . . . London, 1916. 8vo, pp. x, 196. R 40998*

GARRIGUET (L.) *La Vierge Marie: sa prédestination—sa dignité—ses privilèges son rôle ses vertus—ses mérites—sa gloire—son intercession—son culte. Paris, 1916. 8vo, pp. 460. R 40325*

GARVIE (Alfred Ernest) *The Christian certainty amid the modern perplexity : essays, constructive and critical, towards the solution of some current theological problems. London, 1910. 8vo, pp. xvi, 480. R 40990*

RASHDALL (Hastings) *Conscience and Christ : six lectures on Christian ethics. [Haskell Lectures, 1913.] London, [1916]. 8vo, pp. xx, 313. R 40397*

SABUNDE (Raymundus de) *La Theologie Natvrelle De Raymond Sebon. Traduite en François par . . . Michel, Seigneur de Montaigne . . . Dernière Edition reueuë & corrigee. [Printer's device beneath title.] A Roven, Chez Romain De Beauvais, pres le grand portail nostre Dame. 1603. 8vo, pp. [16], 891, [49]. R 40460*

SCHEEBEN (Matthias Joseph) *A manual of Catholic theology based on Scheeben's "Dogmatik". By Joseph Wilhelm . . . and Thomas B. Scannell . . . With a preface by Cardinal Manning. London, 1908-09. 2 vols. 8vo. R 40926*

1. The sources of theological knowledge, God, creation, and the supernatural order. Fourth edition, revised.—1909.

2. The fall. Redemption. Grace. The church and the sacraments. The last things. Third edition, revised.—1908.

230 RELIGION: DOCTRINAL THEOLOGY.

VOLKMAR (Gustav) *Jesus Nazarenus und die erste christliche Zeit, mit den beiden ersten Erzählern [i.e. Saint Mark and F. Josephus].* Zurich, 1882. 8vo, pp. ix, 403. R 40434

WILSON (Thomas) *Bishop of Sodor and Man.* The knowledge and practice of Christianity made easy to the meanest capacities; or, an essay towards an instruction for the Indians; which will likewise be of use to all such who are called Christians, but have not well considered the meaning of the religion they profess. In twenty dialogues. Together with directions and prayers. . . . The ninth edition. London, 1759. 8vo, pp. iv, xv, 300. R 39964

240 RELIGION: DEVOTIONAL.

BRATHWAIT (Richard) *Lignum vitæ.* Libellus in quatuor partes distinctus: et ad utilitatem cujusque animæ in altiore vitam perfectionem suspirantis, nuperrime editus. . . . Londini, 1658. 8vo, pp. 679. R 41075

* * There is also an engraved title page.

BUNYAN (John) *Le pèlerinage du Chrétien à la cité céleste, décrit sous la similitude d'un songe.* Nouvelle édition. Paris, 1834. 8vo, pp. 235. R 39962

CAUSES. The causes of the decay of Christian piety. Or an impartial survey of the ruins of Christian religion, undermin'd by unchristian practice. Written by the author of *The whole duty of man.* [With a letter to the publisher subscribed "H.E."] [With plates.] London, 1683. 8vo, pp. 449. R 39954

GRAY (Andrew) *Directions and instigations to the duty of prayer: how, and why the heart is to be kept with diligence.* . . . Being the sum and substance of nine sermons, heretofore printed. . . . The second impression, newly corrected and amended. . . . [Edinburgh], 1679. 12mo, pp. 164. R 41064

KEACH (Benjamin) *War with the devil: or, the young man's conflict with the powers of darkness.* In a dialogue. Discovering the corruption and vanity of youth; the horrible nature of sin, and deplorable condition of fallen man: also a definition, power, and rule of conscience, and the nature of true conversion. To which is added an appendix, containing a dialogue between an old apostate, and a young professor. . . . The twenty-second edition. . . . [In verse.] [With illustrations.] London, 1776. 8vo, pp. 156. R 40186

NORRIS (John) *A collection of miscellanies: consisting of poems, essays, discourses, and letters, occasionally written.* . . . Oxford, 1687. 8vo, pp. 467. R 39956

— The sixth edition. London, 1717. 12mo, pp. 319. R 32947

— The eighth edition. London, 1723. 8vo, pp. 366. R 39958

240 RELIGION: DEVOTIONAL.

RUYSBROECK (Jan van) John of Ruysbroeck. The adornment of the spiritual marriage. The sparkling stone. The book of supreme truth. Translated from the Flemish by C. A. Wynschenk Dom. Edited with an introduction and notes by Evelyn Underhill. *London*, 1916. 8vo, pp. xxxii, 259. R 40987

SATURDAY EVENING. Saturday evening. By the author of Natural history of enthusiasm [i.e. Isaac Taylor]. . . . *London*, 1832. 8vo, pp. viii, 491. R 40114

SCHOOL. The school of the heart: or, the heart of itself gone away from God, brought back again to Him, and instructed by Him. In forty-seven emblems. By the author of the Synagogue. . . . [i.e. C. Harvey. Adapted from B. van Haeften's "Schola Cordis"]. Whereunto is added, the learning of the heart, by the same hand. [In verse.] [With frontispiece.] *London*, 1778. 8vo, pp. 154. R 40281

SCOTT (John) The Christian life, from its beginning, to its consummation in glory; together, with the several means and instruments of Christianity conducing thereunto; with directions for private devotion, and forms of prayer fitted to the several states of Christians. . . . The third edition. . . . [With frontispiece.] *London*, 1684. 8vo, pp. 436. R 39972

WHOLE DUTY. The new whole duty of man, containing the faith as well as practice of a Christian; made easy for the practice of the present age, as the old Whole duty of man was design'd for those unhappy times in which it was written; and supplying the articles of the Christian faith, which are wanting in that book. . . . With devotions proper for several occasions. The eleventh edition. . . . [With frontispiece.] *London*, [c. 1750]. 8vo, pp. x, 546. R 39974

250 RELIGION: HOMILETICS.

GRAY (Andrew) The mystery of faith opened up: or, some sermons concerning faith, two whereof were not formerly printed. Wherein the nature, excellency, and usefulness of that noble grace is much cleared, and the practice thereof most powerfully pressed. Whereunto are added other three sermons, two concerning the great salvation, one of these not formerly printed, and a third concerning death. . . . All these sermons being now carefully revised, and much corrected. . . . [Edited by R. Trail and J. Sterling.] *Edinburgh*, 1678. 12mo, pp. 1-166 [error for 168]. R 41063

HICKMAN (Charles) *Bishop of Derry*. Fourteen sermons preach'd, at St. James's Church in Westminster. *London*, 1700. 8vo, pp. 432. R 39969

MAILLARD (Olivier) Diuini eloquij p̄conis. . . . Oliuerij Maillardi . . . Sermones dominicales: vna cū aliquibus alijs sermonibus valde vtilibus. [Printer's device beneath title.] ([Colophon:] Diuini verbi preconis. . . . Oliuerij Maillardi. . . . Sermones dñicales finiunt nuperrime imp̄sis lohānis petit parisien̄ librarij iurati. Anno millesimo quingentesimosexto). < *Paris*: J. Petit, 1506. > 8vo, ff. 108, [2]. R 40481

* * Black letter.

250 RELIGION: HOMILETICS.

MAILLARD (Olivier) Opus quadragesimale . . . Oliuerij Maillardi . . . quod quidem in ciuitate Nānetē . fuit p eundem publice declaratum : ac nup Parisius impressum. [Printer's device beneath title.] ([Colophon:] ¶ Sermonum quadragesimaliū Maillardi nuper impēsis Iohannis parui Parisiensis bibliopole impressioni traditorum. Finis.) <Paris: J. Petit> [1513]. 8vo, ff. 102, [2]. R 40480

* * Black letter.

— ¶ Summariū quoddā sermonum de Sanctis per totū anni circulū simul et de cōi sctōrū : et ꝑ defunctis : hactenus nusq̄ impressoꝝ. . . . Oliuerii maillardi. . . . Anno. m. ccccc. xvi exactissime reuisum ꝛ impressum. [Printer's device beneath title.] *Venūdantur in vico sancti Iacobi a Ioāne petit sub intersignio Lilii* ([Colophon:] . . . *Impensis . . . Iohānis petit Parisiensis bibliopole | feliciter expliciunt.* Anno domini millesimo quingentesimo decimo sexto. Die ꝑo vigesimaprima Februarij.) 8vo, ff. cli. R 40482

* * Black letter.

PEPIN (Gulielmus) ¶ Expositio Euāgeliorū Quadragesimalium . . . [Printer's device beneath title.] ¶ *Ex florentissima Luthetie | matre studiorum omnium fecundissima.* Anno ab incarnato Salvatore / sexqui. Millesimo. xxix. Octaua Ianuarij. 8vo, ff. [12], cccli. R 40459

— ¶ Sermones quadragesimales Fratris Guillelmi Pepin nouo ordīe ab ipso authore digesti / decretales scilicet casibus (qui hactenus separati fuerant) suis quibusq; euāgelij coaptatis. [Printer's device beneath title.] ¶ *Ex florentissima Luthetie | matre studiorū omnium fecūdissima.* Anno ab incarnato saluatore : sexqui. Millesimo. xxix. Mense Octobris. 8vo, ff. [8], cxl. R 40458

SPECULUM. Magnvm Specvlvm Exemplorvm Ex Plvsq̄vam Sexaginta Auctoribvs Pietate, Doctrina Et Antiquitate Venerandis, Variisque Historiis, tractatibus & libellis excerptum Ab Anonymo quodam, qui circiter annum Domini 1480. vixisseprehenditur. Opus ab innumeris mendis, & fastidiosis breuiationibus vindicatum, varijs notis, Autorumq; citationibus illustratum. Per Qvendam Patrem E Societate Iesv [i.e. J. Major], Ac Demvm Per Evndem Novorvm Exemplorum appendice locupletatum. Cum Indice locorum communium vtilissimo. [Printer's device beneath title.] *Dvaci, Ex officina Baltazaris Belleri Typographi iurati, sub Circino aureo.* An.M.DC.III. 4to, pp. [88], 724, 75, [1]. R 39981

260 RELIGION: CHURCH INSTITUTIONS AND WORK.

BUCER (Martin) The mynd and exposition of that excellent learned man Martyn Bucer / vppon these wordes of S. Mathew: Woo be to the wordle bycause of offences. Math xvij. Faythfully translated into Englishe, by a faythfull brother, with certayne obiections ꝛ answeres to the same. . . . ([Pt. 2, sig. A. 1 recto caption:] ¶ To the Reader. [Text:] To my faythfull Brethren, we geve thankes to God for your constancie and vpryght delynge in this gret controuersie now raysyd by

260 RELIGION: CHURCH INSTITUTIONS AND WORK.

packynge of enemys about the wearinge of popish apparell. . . .—[Sig. B. 3 recto:] ¶ An answer to a question, that was mouyd, why the godly men wold not weare a surples.) ¶ *Printed at Emden [by E. van der Erve ?] 1566. 2 pts. in 1 vol. 8vo. R 40244*

BULLINGER (Heinrich) The iudgement of the Reuerend Father Master Henry Bullinger / Pastor of the church of Zurick, in certeyne matters of religion, beinge in controuersy in many countreys, euen wher as the Gopel is taught . . . 1566. [Translated from the Latin.] [*Emden ? E. van der Erve ? 1566.*] 8vo, ff. [24]. R 40245

CURIOUS CHURCH CUSTOMS. Curious church customs, and cognate subjects. Edited by William Andrews. . . . [With frontispiece.] *Hull, 1895. 8vo, pp. 274. R 40560*

CURIOUS CHURCH GLEANINGS. Curious church gleanings. Edited by William Andrews. . . . [With illustrations.] *Hull, 1896. 8vo, pp. 280. R 40559*

DÉRODON (David) The funeral of the mass: or, the mass dead and buried, without hope of resurrection. [By D. Dérodon.] Translated out of French. The third edition. *Dublin, 1685. 8vo. R 41065*

* * Imperfect. Wanting 3 leaves of preliminary matter and pp. 115-122.

— The funeral of the mass: or, the mass dead and buried, without hope of resurrection. Translated out of French [by S. A.]. The seventh edition, corrected. *London, 1685. 8vo, pp. 149. R 21412*

DRAKE (Maurice) and (Wilfred) Saints and their emblems. . . . Illustrated by . . . plates from photographs and drawings by W. Drake. With a foreword by Aymer Vallance. *London, 1916. Fol., pp. xiii, 235. R 40563*

ENGLAND. The holy-days. Or the feasts and fasts. As they are observed in the Church of England, explained; and the reasons why they are yearly celebrated. . . . *London, 1716. 8vo, pp. 40. R 39952*

GREAT DUTY. The great duty of frequenting the Christian sacrifice, and the nature of the preparation required, with suitable devotions: partly collected from the ancient liturgies. To which is prefixed; instructions for confirmation. . . . The ninth edition. [By R. Nelson.] *London, 1727. 12mo, pp. x, 202. R 39966*

HENRY BRADSHAW SOCIETY. Founded . . . for the editing of rare liturgical texts. . . . [With facsimiles.] *London, 1915. 8vo. In progress. R6097*

49. The Gregorian sacramentary under Charles the Great. Edited from three MSS. of the ninth century by H. A. Wilson. . . .—1915.

50. Cranmer (T.) *Archbishop of Canterbury*. Cranmer's liturgical projects. Edited from British Museum MS. Royal, 7, B. IV., with introduction, appendix, notes, and indices by J. W. Legg.—1915.

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260 RELIGION: CHURCH INSTITUTIONS AND WORK.

IKONOGRAPHIE. Ikonographie der Heiligen. Ein Beitrag zur Kunstgeschichte. [By J. von Radowitz.] *Berlin*, 1834. 8vo, pp. x, 102.
R 39931

INDIAN EVANGELICAL REVIEW. The Indian evangelical review; a quarterly journal of missionary thought and effort. Volume II (-XI). *Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta*, [1874-] 1875-[85]. 10 vols. 8vo.
R 39030

2-6. Edited by W. C. Cook.—[1874-] 1875-79.

7-11. Edited by . . . K. S. Macdonald. . . .—1880-[85].

LITURGIES. The book of common prayer, and administration of the sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies of the church, according to the use of the Church of England; together with the psalter or psalms of David, pointed as they are to be sung or said in churches. (Leabhar na nornaightheadh ccomhchoitchionn. . . .) *London*, (1712). 8vo.
R 40484

— The book of common prayer, and administration of the sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies of the church, according to the use of the Church of England: together with the psalter or Psalms of David, pointed as they are to be sung or said in churches. [With plates.] *London*, 1716. 8vo.
R 39987.1

— The book of common prayer and administration of the sacraments and other rites and ceremonies of the church according to the use of the United Church of England and Ireland; together with the Psalter or Psalms of David. Fourth edition. [In Sinhalese.] *Colombo*, 1860. 2 pts. in 1 vol. 8vo.
R 39238

— The Church of England's-man's private devotions. Being a collection of prayers out of the common-prayer-book, for morning, noon, and evening, and other special occasions. By the author of the Week's preparation to the sacrament. *London*, 1714. 8vo, pp. 58. R 39951

— Three primers put forth in the reign of Henry VIII. viz. I. A goodly prymer, 1535. II. The manual of prayers or the prymer in English, 1539. III. King Henry's primer, 1545. [Edited by E. Burton.] Second edition. *Oxford*, 1848. 8vo, pp. iv, 526.
R 38392

— [Sig. A. 1 recto :] [Ornament above caption]. [Caption:] The Confession of Faith, used in the English Congregation at Geneva; Received and approved by the Church of Scotland. [*Edinburgh?* c. 1638.] 4to, pp. 63.
R 41067

* * Title-page wanting. The title is taken from the caption.

— The prymer, or prayer-book of the lay people in the middle ages in English dating about 1400 A.D. Edited, with introduction and notes from the manuscript, G. 24, in St. John's College, Cambridge, by W. Littlehales. . . . [With facsimile.] *London*, 1891-92. 2 vols. 8vo.
R 40417

260 RELIGION: CHURCH INSTITUTIONS AND WORK.

LITURGIES. A collection of hymns for the use of the people called Methodists. By . . . John Wesley. . . . With a supplement. [With portrait.] *London*, 1832. 24mo, pp. 736. R 39988

— [Quignon recension of the Roman breviary.] ([Printer's device above colophon.] [Colophon:] . . . ¶ *Antverpiae Apud Michaellem Hillenium, in Rapo. Anno Domini M.D.XLII.*) 8vo, ff. [11], 355, [1]. R 40546

* * The title leaf and four other leaves (sig. †† 5-8) are wanting.

— The liturgy and ritual of the Celtic Church. By Frederick Edward Warren. [With facsimile.] *Oxford*, 1881. 8vo, pp. xix, 291. R 40103

— The Ethiopic liturgy; its sources, development, and present form [The Ethiopic liturgy . . . a translation of Mercer 3. . . . The Ethiopic text of Mercer 3.] By . . . Samuel A. B. Mercer. . . . [The Hale Lectures, 1914-15.] *Milwaukee*, 1915. 8vo, pp. xvi, 487. R 39760

REASONABLE COMMUNICANT. The reasonable communicant: or, an explanation of the doctrine of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, in all its parts, from the Communion service. In a discourse between a minister and one of his parishioners. The sixth edition, corrected by the author. *London*, 1715. 12mo, pp. 104. R 39963

SPIRITUAL DESPOTISM. Spiritual despotism. By the author of *Natural history of enthusiasm*, [i.e. I. Taylor]. . . . *London*, 1835. 8vo, pp. viii, 500. R 40116

WHEATLY (Charles) A rational illustration of the Book of common prayer of the Church of England. Wherein liturgies in general are proved lawful and necessary, and an historical account is given of our own. . . . The whole being the substance of every thing liturgical in Bishop Sparrow, . . . L'Estrange, . . . Comber, . . . Nichols, and all former ritualists, . . . collected and reduced into one continued and regular method, and interspersed all along with new observations. . . . Sixth edition. . . . [With frontispiece.] *London*, 1729. 8vo, pp. xxvi, 557. R 39968

NEW MODEL. New model of Christian missions to popish, Mahometan, & pagan nations explained, in four letters to a friend, by the author of "Natural history of enthusiasm" [i.e. Isaac Taylor]. *London*, 1829. 8vo, pp. 124. R 40112

270 RELIGION: RELIGIOUS HISTORY.

BONNARD (G.) La controverse de Martin Marprelate 1588-1590. Episode de l'histoire littéraire du puritanisme sous Elizabeth. *Genève*, 1916. 8vo, pp. xv, 237. R 40638

270 RELIGION: RELIGIOUS HISTORY.

BRÉMOND (Henri) *Histoire littéraire du sentiment religieux en France depuis la fin des guerres de religion jusqu'à nos jours.* [With plates.] *Paris*, 1916. 1 vol. 8vo. R 40231

COUNCILS. *Concilia Generalia, Et Provincialia, Qvotqvot Repiriri Potvervnt. Item Epistolæ Decretales Et Romanor. Pontific. Vitæ, Omnia Stvdio, Et Indvstria . . . Severini Binii . . . Recognita, Aucta, Notis Illustrata, et Historica Methodo disposita. Coloniae Agrippinæ. Apud Ioan. Gymnic. et Anton. Hierat. Anno M. DC. VI. . . .* 4 vols. in 5. Fol. R 40387

— *Συνοδικον*, sive pandectæ canonum ss. apostolorum, et conciliorum ab ecclesia Græca receptorum; nec non canonicarum ss. patrum epistolarum: una cum scholiis antiquorum [i.e. T. Balsamon and J. Zonaras] singulis eorum annexis, et scriptis aliis huc spectantibus; quorum plurima e Bibliothecæ Bodleianæ aliarumque mss. codicibus nunc primum edita: reliqua cum iisdem mss. summa fide & diligentia collata. Totum opus . . . Guilielmus Beveregius . . . recensuit, prolegomenis munivit, & annotationibus auxit. [Greek and Latin.] *Oxonii*, 1672. 2 vols. Fol. R 40883

CURZON (Robert) *Baron de la Zouche.* *Visits to monasteries in the Levant.* . . . With an introduction by D. G. Hogarth. [With illustrations.] *London*, 1916. 8vo, pp. xvi, 423. R 41089

ELY, *Diocese of.* *Ely episcopal records. A calendar and concise view of the episcopal records preserved in the Muniment Room of the Palace at Ely. Compiled . . . by A. Gibbons. . . . Lincoln, printed for private circulation*, 1891. 8vo, pp. xiv, 558. R 39340

ENGLAND. *The seconde parte of a register: being a calendar of manuscripts under that title intended for publication by the Puritans about 1593, and now in Dr. Williams's Library, London. Edited by Albert Peel. . . . With a preface by C. H. Firth. . . . Cambridge*, 1915. 2 vols. 8vo. R 39798

FITZ-HERBERT (Nicolas) Nicolai Fizerberti *De Antiquitate & Continuatione Catholicæ Religionis in Anglia, & De Alani Cardinalis Vita Libellvs. Ad Sanctissimum D. N. Pavlvn Qvintvm Pontificem Maximum.* [Printer's device beneath title.] *Romæ, Apud Guillelmum Facciottum.* M. DC. VIII. . . . 8vo, pp. [8], 100, [2]. R 18033

FROMMENT (Antoine) *Les actes et gestes merveilleux de la cité de Geneve; nouvellement convertie à l'evangille, faictz du temps de leur reformation, et comment ils l'ont receue, redigez par escript en fourme de chroniques, annales ou hystoyres, commençant l'an MDXXXII. Par A. Fromment. (Extraits contenant tout ce qu'il y a d'important dans les Registres publics de Geneve, par Jacques Flournois. Dès l'an 1532 à 1536.) Mis en lumiere par Gustave Revilliod.* [With plates.] *A Geneve*, 1854. 8vo, pp. xxxi, 249, ccix. R 40495

270 RELIGION: RELIGIOUS HISTORY.

- HEFELE (Carl Joseph von) *Bishop of Rottenburg*. Histoire des conciles d'après les documents originaux. . . . Nouvelle traduction française faite sur la deuxième édition allemande, corrigée et augmentée de notes critiques et bibliographiques par. . . . H. Leclercq. . . . Tome VII. première partie. *Paris*, 1916. 8vo. *In progress*. R 39771
- HERKLESS (John) and HANNAY (Robert Kerr) The archbishops of St. Andrews. Vol. IV. (-V.). *Edinburgh and London*, 1913-15. 2 vols. 8vo. R 22116
- HUGH, [of Avalon], *Saint, Bishop of Lincoln*. The life of Saint Hugh of Lincoln. Translated from the French Carthusian life and edited with . . . additions by Herbert Thurston. . . . [With portrait.] [Quarterly Series. 99.] *London*, 1898. 8vo, pp. xxvi, 650. R 40543
- HULL (Eleanor) Early Christian Ireland. [Epochs of Irish History, 2.] *London*, 1905. 8vo, pp. vi, 283. R 40474
- JONES (Rufus Matthew) Spiritual reformers in the 16th & 17th centuries. *London*, 1914. 8vo, pp. li, 362. R 40609
- MURRAY (Richard) Ireland and her church. . . . The second edition, enlarged. *London*, 1845. 8vo, pp. xxiii, 390. R 40412
- PHILIPPSON (Johann) *Sleidanus*. I. Sleidan De L'Estat De La Religion Et Repvblique Chrestienne, Et Des Qvatre Monarchies. Traduit nouvellement de Latin en Francois. Plus vn discours des Roys de France iusques au Roy Charles neufiesme. De nouveau reueu & augmenté. [Translated by R. Le Prevost.] *A Strasbourg*, M.D. LXIII. 2 pts. in 1 vol., 8vo. R 40465
- * * The "discours des roys de France" does not appear in this volume.
- Waerachtige Beschriuinge Hoc dattet met de Religie gestaen heeft : Ende oock met de gemeyne weluaert onder den grootmachtigen Keyser Carolo de vijfste. Eerst van . . . Johan Sleidan in Latijn neerstelijke tsamen ghestelt : Ende voort door M. Walter Deleen int Nederlandts verduytst. . . . [Emden?] Anno M.D.LVIII. 4to, pp. [8], DCCCLVII, [13]. R 40466
- STAPLETON (Thomas) Tres Thomae seu Res Gestae S. Thomae Apostoli. S. Thomae Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis & Martyris. Thomae Mori Angliæ quondam Cancellarij. Avthore Thoma Stapletono. . . . Ad-ditis duobus Indicibus, altero Capitem, altero Rerum. [Woodcut beneath title.] *Coloniae Agrippinae, Sumptibus Bernardi Gualteri*, ([Colophon:] *Excudebat Stephanus Hemmerden*) Anno M.DC.XII. 8vo, pp. [16], 382 [error for 386], [12]. R 18039
- * * In an armorial binding.
- TRESAL (J.) Les origines du schisme anglican 1509-1571. [Bibliothèque de l'Enseignement de l'Histoire Ecclésiastique.] *Paris*, 1908. 8vo, pp. xxiii, 460. R 40155

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270 RELIGION: RELIGIOUS HISTORY.

VOELTER (Daniel E. J.) Die apostolischen Väter neu untersucht. *Leiden*, 1910. 8vo. *In progress*. R 24271

2, ii. Polykarp und Ignatius und die ihnen zugeschriebenen Briefe. Neu untersucht.—1910.

MONASTIC ORDERS.—FRANCIS [Bernardone] of Assisi Saint. The little flowers of Saint Francis of Assisi. [An English translation revised by T. Okey.] With . . . illustrations by Paul Woodroffe. *London*, 1899. 8vo, pp. viii, 277. R 16573

GRAHAM (Rose) S. Gilbert of Sempringham and the Gilbertines: a history of the only English monastic order. . . . With illustrations. *London*, 1901. 8vo, pp. xi, 240. R 40544

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